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Brandt-Nixon Washington conference

When a visit to Washington by the Chancellor is officially announced four weeks beforehand one may be excused for assuming at first glance that all has been planned well in advance.

In point of fact Willy Brandt's call on President Nixon is a hastily arranged encounter. For weeks any intention on the Chancellor's part of visiting the United States had been consistently disclaimed.

What is more, only a matter of hours before details of the forthcoming visit were announced at President Nixon's home in San Clemente, California, Chancellor Brandt was again named as the chief speaker, alongside trades union confederation chairman Heinz Oskar Vetter, at the Munich May Day demonstration.

The Chancellor has now had to go back yet again on his May Day speaking commitment, which would seem to further indicate the importance attached by at least one of the two sides to a meeting between the two leaders.

At the same time there is no reason for dramatising the meeting beforehand and it can be stated here and now that it will not be followed by a repetition of the spectacular discord that has ensued from past encounters, notably the meeting between Chancellor Erhard and President Johnson in September 1966.

The much-vaunted risk of anti-Americanism in this country will no doubt play a part in the White House talks, but Mr Nixon and Herr Brandt will be agreed that more important issues are at stake both for themselves, for their respective governments and for the two peoples.

Emotion and specific interests have indeed led in recent months to outbreaks of anti-American sentiment that may appear alarming to some observers in comparison with the tenor of public opinion fifteen or 25 years ago.

On closer investigation, however, it is clear that disputes over military ranges are not the outcome of a campaign to send the GIs packing, and as for the final stages of the Vietnam war, they were viewed in this country in a light no less controversial than that prevailing elsewhere in the world.

This country is, for that matter, not alone in considering the rogue billions of Eurodollars as a cause of renewed monetary crises, and the Young Socialists' call for an embargo on offset payments to cover the foreign exchange costs of stationing US troops in this country stands no chance of being sanctioned by the party conference and still less of ever being implemented by the government.

The role this country in particular is to play in the future organisation of Europe, the arrangement of a new relationship between Europe and the United States and further attempts to come to a long-term arrangement with the Soviet Union are, however, of some relevance.

Furthermore, since all three aspects are interlinked it is neither national presumption to mention the fact nor a mere coincidence that this May Chancellor Brandt is to fly to Washington to meet President Nixon, the Bonn Bundestag is to ratify the Basic Treaty with the GDR, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev is to visit Bonn and a decision is to be reached in Helsinki on the forthcoming conference on security and cooperation in Europe.

Add to this catalogue General Secretary Brezhnev's proposed visit to Washington a little later and you will see that this succession of international events represents no more and no less than the outward indication of an intermediate phase that marks both the end of the post-war era and the process of clarification of a future that can as yet only be discerned in vague outline.

Parliamentary approval of the Basic Treaty will, moreover, mark the end of a stage in the Social and Free Democratic coalition government's *Ostpolitik* that, by coming to terms with the past, has laid the groundwork for future developments.

It will doubtless be convenient for Willy Brandt to have paid the White House a visit prior to the Bundestag ratification debate. He will be able to refer to his talks with President Nixon to disarm critics who suspect that as a result of the Basic Treaty Bonn may be drifting towards neutrality or even in the wake of the Soviet Union.

On the other hand the Chancellor will agree with the President that America's self-preoccupation and shift of emphasis from the role of world policeman to that of more serious commitment on domestic issues, although it must not, in the medium term, be allowed to upset endeavours to establish a fresh balance of power in Europe, will, in the long run, make a reduction in the US military presence on this side of the Atlantic inevitable.

In order to ensure that the risks that may arise are not incalculable, East-West negotiations must be held, no matter how improbable a successful conclusion may seem to be.

As it would be wishful thinking to want to replace America's military potential by Europe's own there is no alternative to the countries of Europe taking over a larger share of the joint defence burden.

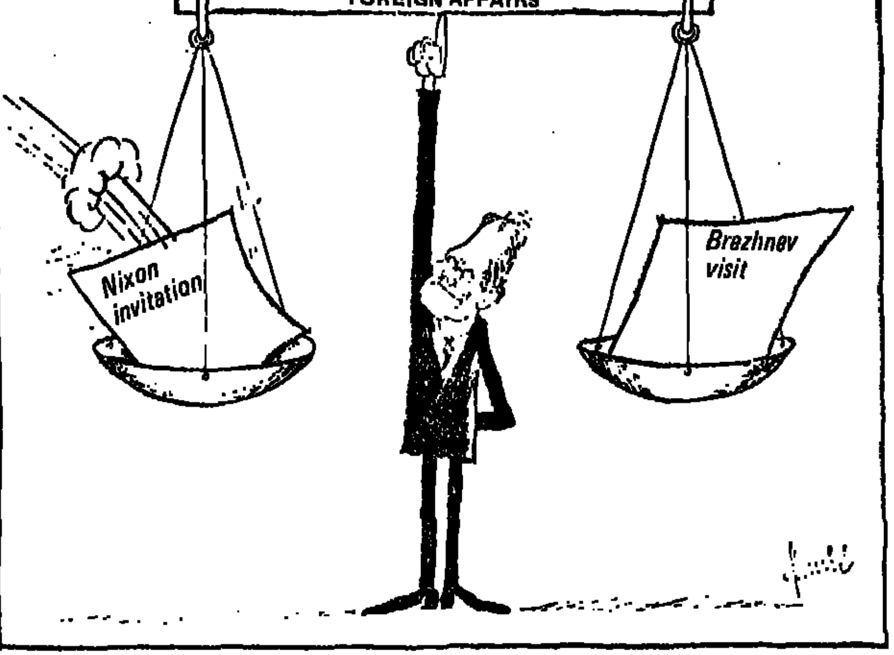
There is no question of abolishing Nato yet at the same time the present structure of the North Atlantic pact need not necessarily be the sole possible security safeguard for all time.

There will be no mention of all this in the communiqués issued by President Nixon, General Secretary Brezhnev and Chancellor Brandt, particularly since, whatever the other two may be able to say, Herr Brandt can hardly claim to speak on Europe's behalf, though in many respects this country remains Washington's most important partner in Europe.

This last point applies in equal measure to the tricky trade and economic problems that trouble relations between America and the EEC.

The domestic topicality of this particular issue in the United States must not lead one to believe, however, that either at present or in the foreseeable future no more is and will be involved than chickens and wheat. *Hans Reiser*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 April 1973)



(Cartoon: Musil/Frankfurter Rundschau)

Brezhnev to visit Bonn

Before a final decision has even been reached as to when Soviet Party leader Brezhnev is to visit this country all manner of rumours and anxious speculation surround his travel plans.

Some observers lament that the Soviet leader is to put in so sudden an appearance – a surprise effect characteristic of the practice of *Ostpolitik* so far, they reckon.

Others complain that this will be the second time Willy Brandt will be meeting Leonid Brezhnev before holding talks with Richard Nixon.

Others still see some connection between the Brezhnev visit to Bonn and growing anti-American and neutralist sentiment in the Federal Republic. At this particular juncture, they argue, a visit to the Federal capital must seem an extremely promising enterprise to the Soviet leader.

In one way or another, then, Mr Brezhnev's visit to this country is being accorded symbolic importance as alleged evidence of imbalance in Bonn's foreign policy.

This policy, it is claimed, is neglecting the Western alliance, particularly relations with the United States, and in the final analysis laying the groundwork for neutrality.

When the Soviet General Secretary finally arrives, most probably in mid-May after the conclusion of parliamentary debate on the Bonn-East Berlin Basic Treaty, his visit will come as anything but a surprise.

Chancellor Brandt extended the invitation to visit this country during his own stay at Oreanda in the Crimea in September 1971. Only recently Mr Brezhnev stated that he hoped to visit the Federal Republic some time this year. The date certainly came as no surprise to this country's allies.

Unlike the Chancellor's visit to the Crimea, which took place a critical stage of the debate on treaties with Moscow and Warsaw, was arranged at the shortest notice and in the preparations for which any amount of communications shortfall occurred both within the government and between Western allies, dramatisation of the present visit is entirely unwarranted.

Bonn cannot be said to be snubbing Washington. General Secretary Brezhnev would be arriving in Bonn in the wake of President Nixon had not the American leader postponed his European tour. And the topics due for discussion between Messrs Brezhnev and Brandt are nothing spectacular either.

A major topic will unquestionably be the stage preliminary talks prior to a European security conference have reached. Interests vary on this point.

At Helsinki the Soviet delegation is interested first and foremost in a comprehensive definition of the status quo in Europe. The West, in contrast, is

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■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Russians are the spoil sports at Helsinki security conference

It is now clear that the conference on security and cooperation in Europe will be held, probably starting at the end of June. This much has emerged from the third round of preliminary talks in Helsinki.

What good will come of it and what targets it is to aim at are another matter. On this point the Helsinki talks have failed so far to produce a satisfactory answer, at least as far as the Western delegations are concerned.

It is mainly due to the obduracy of the Soviet Union that East and West have yet to reach target agreement on even a single fundamental issue.

The conference will, for the most part, be concerned with problems relating to the Soviet Union, which is neither able nor willing to either forgo or relax control over its Eastern European empire and has no intention of renouncing the power represented by the Brezhnev Doctrine.

In other words, the Soviet Union is determined to maintain the status quo in Eastern Europe and intent on relaxing the status quo in Western Europe and the Atlantic alliance.

The means by which Moscow hopes to achieve this aim is the policy of detente. The Western powers, in contrast, are by no means as clear about their own intentions.

While they take it as read that post-war political structures are undergoing changes in their own sphere of influence they seem equally prepared to accept the fact that the Soviet Union is intent on perpetuating post-war structures in the countries that border it to the West.

Western views are not the yardstick by which policy aims in Helsinki are measured. What the West's yardstick is is deemed the maxium that can be asked of the Soviet Union.

What other explanation is there for the fact that the conference is considered certain to be held even though Western diplomats, Anglo-American diplomats in particular, are regularly beset by doubts as to whether anything useful can possibly come of it?

In the meantime calling off the conference has been deemed too much to ask of the Soviet Union. As a result expectations in the way of results must be scaled down to what is considered palatable to the Kremlin.

It would be oversimplifying matters to lay the blame exclusively at the door of the policy towards the Eastern Bloc pursued by the Bonn government of Chancellor Willy Brandt and Foreign Minister Walter Scheel.

The real causes are to be found elsewhere: –

– In the policy towards Germany pursued by the Western powers, who consider the division of Germany to represent a contribution towards security and the balance of power and were accordingly gratified when Bonn decided to treat its claim to reunification as a political myth, which is what, in the circumstances, it is and will remain for the foreseeable future.

– In the policy pursued by the United States, which in the wake of the Sino-Soviet conflict decided no longer to view the Soviet Union as an aggressive, revolutionary world power. Instead Moscow was seen as guaranteeing peace and the great powers coming to terms.

– In the interest of the Soviet Union in cooperation with the West, as a result of which the German "problem" including Berlin had to be settled because it now represented an obstacle in the way of detente.

Bonn was accordingly hustled by both sides into an unaccustomed and potentially dangerous phase of independent initiative. The outcome may not have been a policy of balancing swings and roundabouts but it has been a fresh version of Bismarck's policy of hedging bets.

The Federal Republic remains part and parcel of the deterrent alliance directed against the Soviet Union yet has at the same time acknowledged Soviet interests in Eastern Europe in return for mutual renunciations of the use of force and nonaggression commitments.

This policy is only superficially ambivalent. Following the failure of Gaullist-inspired policies France's *Ostpolitik* of relaxing tension between military blocs by means of nationalism all that remained was the possibility of a policy towards the Eastern Bloc pursued in the bloc context.

In this there is, as General de Gaulle clearly foresaw, a risk of the interests of smaller countries being subordinated to those of the great powers. In view of the prevailing position within the blocs this applies more to the Eastern Europeans than it does to the West at present.

This would account for the unrest of the Rumanians in particular, who both at Helsinki and at the MBFR talks in Vienna have left no stone unturned in their attempts to undermine the Brezhnev Doctrine.

Helsinki has provided them with a welcome opportunity of so doing, since the detente policy imposes conflicting roles on the Soviet Union. Moscow cannot very well behave in wolf-like fashion on home ground, as it were, while masquerading as a sheep elsewhere.

The decision Bonn must reach in Helsinki (Washington too, since President Nixon is also hedging his bets) is whether this policy obliges us to make matters easy for the Soviet Union with its maintenance of the Brezhnev Doctrine.

Again it is a question of whether or not this is too much to ask and the answer must be an unqualified "yes."

Bonn's treaties with Moscow and, indeed, the entire *Ostpolitik* are based on the general principles of inviolability of frontiers, renunciation of the use of force and non-intervention, all of which are incorporated in the UN Charter.

These principles must be reiterated by a European security conference. They must be confirmed without strings and not held only to be valid within the framework of peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social systems, which would be tantamount to acknowledgement of the Brezhnev Doctrine.

There must be no compromise on this point. The same is true of the right to national self-determination, which in its turn presents no difficultis in Bonn's relations with the Soviet Union, since the Federal Republic continues to insist on the right to self-determination of Germany as a whole.

Concessions are, on the other hand, conceivable in respect of what, from the start, have been considered high-flown Western demands for freedom of movement in the context of information, people and ideas.

These are topics that could be debated by the permanent bodies demanded by the Soviet Union. There may not be much prospect of immediate agreement on a great deal, but these permanent bodies could serve as a forum for discussion by means of which the Eastern Europeans might attempt to extend their own leeway.

This, then, ought to indicate the direction to be taken in the next round of ambassadorial talks in Helsinki and in the forthcoming talks between Chancellor Brandt and General Secretary Brezhnev.

Dieter Schröder

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 April 1973)

FRG will become 134th UN member

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

At the autumn General Assembly of the United Nations the GDR will become the 133rd and the Federal Republic the 134th full member of the UN.

This order of admission is alphabetical, the GDR coming first as "German Democratic Republic", followed by this country as "Germany, Federal Republic of."

With the approval of the four Allies the two German states have agreed to join the United Nations simultaneously.

The Chinese government must be ... of this agreement, so there is no reason to fear that Peking might want to make use of its veto to delay the admission of the GDR, on which it has a number of reservations.

In the course of Foreign Minister Walter Scheel's visit to Peking last autumn the Chinese made it clear they will be supporting Bonn's entry.

From Bonn's point of view the timetable is now as follows. The Bundestag will pass the UN Entry Bill on 10 or 11 May, whereupon it will be submitted to the Bundesrat, the country's Upper House, for approval, the Federal states represented in the Upper Chamber being of the opinion that their consent is necessary.

Assuming that the Bundesrat gives its approval towards the end of May, the bill could become law early in June. The entry bid would then have to be recommended to the General Assembly by the UN Security Council.

It is further assumed that both the Federal Republic and the GDR will gain admission to the United Nations at the outset of this year's General Assembly, which is due to convene on 18 September.

Following admission as a full member the financial burden on this country will be only slightly higher, current expenditure amounting to between ... and 440 millions Marks a year.

Bonn will be contributing 6.8 per cent towards the UN budget totalling ... million dollars. This amounts to ... fifty million Marks.

The GDR will be footing between ... and a half and two per cent of the UN budget. Bearing in mind current Bonn contributions towards UN organisations the additional financial burden on this country will amount to roughly ... million Marks per annum.

Hans Werner Kettenbach

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 7 April 1973)

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more concerned to establish communication between East and West.

Expansion of trade between this country and the Soviet Union will be another important subject. Still another, considered of special importance by the Bonn Federal government, can be listed under the heading "Berlin".

The Four-Power Berlin Agreement has yet to run smoothly from Bonn's point of view. The Soviet viewpoint on foreign representation of West Berlin by this country may vary but is, by and large, restrictive.

Discussions must be held about the way in which this aspect of the Agreement is implemented. They will decide whether or not the future development of West Berlin will be allowed to proceed without let or hindrance.

The two men will, of course, review world affairs in general, but there are no indications whatsoever that the meeting will mark the occasion for dangerous go-it-alone moves by either side.

Brezhnev's Bonn visit

Leonid Brezhnev's visit to Bonn does not represent a special relationship between this country and the Kremlin. It merely bears witness to a gradual and, indeed, still painful normalisation of relations.

So far there has been not the slightest sign that Bonn's *Ostpolitik* may be breaking the bounds of the Nato foreign policy concept. But for the background of US-Soviet detente it would not have proved possible and was, moreover, a means of maintaining good relations between the United States and this country.

The current dispute between Bonn and Washington is centred not around foreign policy but around monetary and trade matters.

It is no doubt to the point to reflect how Bonn can best maintain a balance between policy towards the West and policy towards the East, how security can be ensured via the Western alliance and cooperation achieved with the East and how, last but nor least, the process of detente, which is fraught with risks for both sides, can be continued without dangerous political disputes arising.

Without a doubt the anti-American and neutralist tendencies on the left wing of this country's Social Democratic Party (SPD) are anything but helpful.

But it is none the more useful for the Opposition, which lacks more trenchant topics, to grasp at the straw of foreign policy follies espoused by a tiny minority of the SPD and mistakenly make them out to be a tragic error on the part of the Federal government as a whole.

Were Mr Brezhnev to rely on the statements of the Opposition he might be excused for believing that this country is heading irresistibly into the arms of the Eastern Bloc, an error that not even the Opposition can be interested in propagating.

Rolf Zundel

(Die Zeit, 6 April 1973)

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■ POLITICS

Practical politics and theory

Theories and political programmes are once again in demand in this country. Once upon a time it was the left-wing students who poured scorn on the Young Socialists and other Social Democrats because neither of them had either a theory or a programme to their name.

Later on the Young Socialists became more theoretical when they discovered Karl Marx. And the SPD is at present in the midst of a search for a theoretical fulcrum. After all, in Kassel the CDU women's group agreed to the demands of Professor Rohrmoser of Munich that the "union parties" must come up with an alternative theory to Socialism.

But the political parties are not any longer simply searching for ideas that look effective in advertising. Important sectors of the CDU have come to the conclusion that the party must above all lay greater emphasis on the Christian and social welfare components in its political programmes and at the same time counter the SPD's "more democracy and equality" slogan with "more liberty".

When for example leading CDU/CSU politicians such as Palatinate Premier Helmut Kohl expressed the opinion that their party has for too long stressed economic re-building and has neglected the social-welfare requirements of the populace than it is high time for re-orientation of politics to allow new aims in practical policies.

The most complicated aspect of the present situation is the series of discussions being held by the SPD. In these discussions left-wing intellectuals who insist on a political programme come up against the parliamentary parties of the SPD and FDP and the Bonn government who are in the thick of the daily business of decision-making and with increasing impetus theories and ideas merge into a programme of small-steps-at-a-time.

The problem in the SPD becomes clear for instance when Herbert Wehner on the one hand comes out in favour of theoretical discussion of a new policy for the party while on the other hand making it clear that the party must go along with government policy.

To take the problems of the SPD purely was a specific dilemma in this one party, to reduce them to a set-to between Utopians and *Realpolitiker* of left and right would be to miss the mark of the general question of how a party can simultaneously carry out the day to day business of governing while at the same time drawing up a programme for a basic improvement in the practice of government. For even party politicians in high office and held in great respect realise that present government practice cannot in the long run deal satisfactory with problems arising.

The dilemma the SPD and FDP face today and which "the union parties" could be facing tomorrow is this: on the one hand no party can rely on political developments largely regulating themselves as was the case in the early sixties, that is to say that a government can limit itself to crisis management.

If the Brandt government flies the banner "we shall improve the quality of life" and promises to support research and technological development only when this is of benefit to the public at large it is essential to produce a long-term programme in which the value of individual measures and their effects on all sectors can easily be checked and the aim can clearly be seen.

It must do this with the party's backing, which is essential, if it is not to run the risk that the party on the one hand and the government and its bureaucracy on the other will one day form two fronts. We are seeing the beginning of this in the SPD.

Discussions in the SPD have, however, shown that a long-term programme cannot be expected in the near future. No outline of costs has been made and the ultimate effect of individual projects, expecially in research and development, cannot be foreseen.

One example: Bonn has produced a programme for electronic data-processing running into thousands of millions in order to improve competitiveness and the dissemination of information, but the effects of this on the working world and education cannot be foreseen. New problems can be expected which will have to be solved by additional expenditure a vicious circle that in its turn prevents other vital problems being solved.

The cleft between what is politically essential and what is feasible seems quite clear. It is no good shrugging shoulders. Considering how this can be changed, such as for example better coordination between the State and industry, on an international level (remember the currency crisis) is of necessity first and foremost a theoretical task that can only later be adapted to political practice.

At any rate it would be a misunderstanding to consider all the problems technical. It is a question of making life more worth living tomorrow and how we can best use technology for this purpose. If we make no progress in this direction we shall one day have to choose between dictatorship of bureaucrats of whatever colour, and utter chaos.

Karsten Plog

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 3 April 1973)

FDP caught in the middle of the political spectrum

Demarcation from the Social Democrats, as was carried out by the Free Democrats on 1 April at several Federal state party congresses, is in the main, whether spoken or tacit, a matter of the relationship between the party and the CDU/CSU, as is only natural.

A small party that has no hope of ever forming a government on its own cannot do anything affecting its relationship to one of the major parties without at the same time affecting its relationship to the other one.

The FDP might like to think out thousands of programmatic possibilities – but in reality its scope for action is hemmed in by the SPD and "the union parties". If it distances itself from the policies of the former it automatically veers towards the course of the other.

This is far from being equivalent to opening up the possibility of becoming a possible coalition partner of the CDU/CSU. The barriers that lie in the way of this have been clearly outlined particularly at the FDP's conference in North Rhine-Westphalia in Siegen.

They are of two kinds. For a start there is the weakness of the "union parties" which makes it difficult for all wings of the FDP to weigh up the possibility of a future coalition.

For as long as it is unclear who is to lead the Christian Democratic Union even those FDP politicians who get goose-pimples at the thought of a lengthy alliance with the SPD would not think of joining forces with the CDU/CSU or even show that the thought had crossed their mind.

If, however, Rainer Barzel should reign superior as CDU chairman after this autumn's battle the Free Democrats would presumably be left with no other possibility than to put the whole idea on ice for a long period.

What Hans-Dietrich Genscher called "the conservative petrifaction" of the CDU/CSU in Siegen should not be taken at face value. The practical differences of opinion between the two parties today are only in the case of the treaties with the East Bloc, so great that one could speak of a great divide between the CDU, the CSU and the FDP.

But the time is fast approaching when the politics of treaties with the communist world are coming to an end. In the every-day business of East Bloc policy that will follow, the FDP and the Opposition in Bonn are not so sharply divided, not only for the sake of its coalition partner and a public that is all too ready to accuse the third party's political reactions as fickleness, but also for the sake of the left wingers who have flooded into the FDP since 1969.

The left wingers are constantly urging the party leadership to give new proofs of a hard line against the CDU, whatever the Christian Democrats may be up to.

Even Genscher and Riemer cannot easily escape such compulsion. But they can see more clearly than other FDP leaders that their party stands to lose its liberty gradually under such pressure.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 April 1973)

Semantics show GDR change of tone

A reliable gauge of the friction, difficulties and barriers between two countries is the language in which reports on the States are couched. The change of tone from the august pathos of the Sunday afternoon talks of the past to the sober situation reports in the most recent declaration of the state of the nation clearly shows the change in relationship between this country and the GDR.

This year Chancellor Brandt decided not to read his state of the nation report to the Bundestag, but instead prepared a written "Unterrichtung" (instruction) – the conscious and intentional understatement is manifest.

And yet there is one pleasant factor that marks off this situation report from its predecessors: it contains a second section which sets off the "development of practical relations" against the "creation of political prerequisites" in the first section.

So everyone has a chance to make up his own mind whether the practice of increased liberty in inter-German affairs corresponds to the agreements made by Bonn and East Berlin. For some the "human easements" actually achieved do not go half far enough, while for others they represent a major step on the road to normalisation.

It is regrettable that the report only vaguely touches on the enormous difficulties experienced by Bonn in dealing with its treaty partner across the Wall. Brandt could have afforded to detail these problems. Now the Opposition can get to work putting ticklish questions, probing, winkling out information.

Some of the questions the CDU/CSU have put during Question Time and in other forms have been answered by this report, but others have not.

It would be a good thing if the CDU/CSU would stop quibbling over the basics of the Ostpolitik and would start to adhere to the treaty practices evolved in dealings with the GDR.

Otherwise the government could easily be tempted to hush up dissension and unwelcome developments and pass off everything that happens in its relationships with East Berlin as a complete success.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 3 April 1973)

Brandt replies to Barzel gibes

The accusation of the leader of the Opposition that the government is shirking its governing role and watching impassively as anti-American and neutralist streams in the Federal Republic gain a foothold was something that Chancellor Brandt was not prepared to take lying down.

He answered them immediately with a four-point statement on the Bonn government's policies towards its allies.

1. The Federal Republic will fulfill its obligations to the Nato alliance fully.
2. The maintenance of the Alliance and the Federal Republic's part in it are a matter of vital importance to this country.
3. The stationing of Nato troops in the Federal Republic is "an essential factor in this country's security."
4. The Federal Republic regards the presence of Nato troops in Europe and the Federal Republic's membership of Nato as essential for security and peace in Europe.

It is easy to see why the Chancellor picked up the Opposition's gauntlet on this occasion. This is a subject on which the CDU could succeed in finding international respect for its policies – not only in America, but also in France – which it completely failed to do with its opposition to the East Bloc treaties.

These treaties for many reasons were supported and indeed publicly acclaimed by the Western powers. They welcomed a German contribution towards detente and it corresponded with the general wishes of the Nixon administration that Federal Republic should show greater responsibility in this process.

But of course the Western powers expected that people of the Federal Republic would make rational use of the growing room for manoeuvre that they had made for themselves without endangering the alliance.

If there were to be a move away from Washington it would be essential for the path towards this to be cleared by American policies. But in America the official view is that national interests are identical with the security of the Federal Republic and vice-versa.

If this were taken as a constant matters such as the European security conference, whose effects are at present an imponderable, would be under an even greater shadow of doubt. And a complicated operation such as MBFR would become even more risky.

Willy Brandt in his turn knows that his room for manoeuvre would quickly become much more limited if his policies were not a security policy and if he could not support his moves by a certain identity of interest with the United States. This is why he countered Barzel's challenge before such ideas gained ground.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 4 April 1973)

SPD membership near the magic million

Membership of the SPD is progressing rapidly towards the magic million figure. Official sources in the party state that it already has about 970,000 members, whereas ten years ago when Willy Brandt took over as party chairman it had only 600,000 or some figure near that.

In 1972 alone 150,000 members joined the SPD, two-thirds under 35. SPD experts calculate that about fifty per cent of the SPD's present membership joined in the past ten years, during which period 200,000 members left the party or died.

(Welt der Arbeit, 23 March 1973)

■ GOVERNMENT

Parkinson's Law and Parliamentary State Secretaries

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The only genuine reform of government administration to have been undertaken in the almost 24-year existence of the Federal Republic does not appear to have been *particularly* propitious.

In 1967 the Grand Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats then ruling in Bonn decided to give individual ministers Parliamentary State Secretaries as political aides de camp.

At first Parliamentary State Secretaries were only appointed to six of the large ministries. But when the first governing coalition of Social and Free Democrats took over in 1969 all ministers were given one.

The new government formed in 1972 retained the system whereby every minister has a Parliamentary State Secretary. Two have been appointed to some ministries despite the fact that the committee to look into reforms of government and the administration is rumoured to have recommended the abolition of Parliamentary State Secretaries. Its latest report is being kept under lock and key.

This proposal, if it has indeed been made, would be a radical contribution to the long discussion on an alteration of the present unsatisfactory system. The whole of the last legislative period was filled with proposal and counter-proposal.

Some members of the Bundestag proposed a sweeping reform. Basic Law should be changed, they suggested, so that the Parliamentary State Secretaries could become *fully-fledged* deputies to their ministers and possess the right to participate in Cabinet divisions.

Another group did not wish to go so far and proposed instead that Parliamentary State Secretaries should not be allowed to possess any supplementary source of income but should instead be given a similar pension to that of ministers.

Although the less extreme of these two solutions often seemed to be within the grasp – and a group of discontented Social Democrats even threatened to put forward a Bill of their own aiming at the more extreme course – nothing ever came of it.

Instead, ministries conducted their own reform. Some Parliamentary State Secretaries became the number two of a ministry with all the power that implies while others were heads of department, spokesman for their ministers in the Bundestag or in committees or merely representatives at events which ministers believed they could miss.

The re-elected SPD/FDP government had serious intentions of undertaking a reform in this sphere as quickly as possible – even if the less extreme course were to be adopted.

The Bill has almost reached Cabinet stage – in fact it may be there already – but a great silence surrounds the issue despite odd moments of hardly suppressed drama.

Retirement pay is rumoured to be the snag. The ministers are unable to agree on whether Parliamentary State Secretaries who have already retired – Holger Börner and Wolfram Dorn come into that category – should be granted pension rights

They ask whether this can be reconciled with the previous ruling that Parliamentary State Secretaries could also possess other sources of income without restriction. It would not be fair to grant them a pension in addition while current Parliamentary State Secretaries have to pay for their pension by agreeing not to do any supplementary work.

While arguments continue – though not with any great intensity as the subject is rather too troublesome for many members – the ministries have been working out their own solutions.

Originally it was planned to counter this inflation in government apparatus by incorporating Parliamentary State Secretaries along with normal State Secretaries in the hierarchy between the departments and the minister. This did indeed occur in the Health Ministry and the Ministry of the Interior.

A Bill drawn up in December 1972 planned to ensure that transfers of the constant direction of administrative units within a ministry would not occur. This at least was stated in the preamble though it did not appear in the text itself.

But this is exactly what has happened in a number of cases. The two Parliamentary and two ordinary State Secretaries at the Ministry of Finance are treated as four State Secretaries and departments have been split up between them.

Sometimes the division goes straight through a department, or even a bureau, the next lowest administrative unit. The training bureau is responsible to State Secretary Schueler for the training of *customs officials* and to Parliamentary State Secretary Konrad Porzner for the training of tax officials.

Documents from the bureaux proceed as normal to the head of department who sends a copy to each of the State Secretaries. It is obvious that considerable labour is involved here. Coordination too is difficult and summit conferences are regularly held to find a solution.

It could be countered that there is no real necessity for distinguishing between normal and Parliamentary State Secretaries. Under current practice the only difference is that the Parliamentary State Secretary receives a salary as a member of the Bundestag as well as a salary for his appointment while the normal State Secretary is a civil servant sworn to loyalty (and therefore often a victim in cases of political conflict) who has to exist on his normal salary.

It is difficult to refute this argument as things stand at the moment. But to avoid friction and inefficiency, there should only be one link between a minister and his ministry – and that is a single State Secretary.

The idea of appointing two normal State Secretaries to large ministries has not proved completely successful in many months of practice except in those cases where the character of the ministry meant that two specialist fields were dealt with under one roof, in other words that the ministry was in effect two departments.

When, during the last legislative period, inquiries were made about the impeded progress of the new law governing Parliamentary State Secretaries, the reply was often apologetic.

Spokesmen would claim in a mood of resignation that further intervention was impossible because of the varying circumstances and personal interests at the ministries.

Events at the Ministry of Finance demonstrate that, though the matter is now urgent, few changes will be made during the current legislative period. The "reform" undertaken there is small enough, if not petty.

Important point

As important as salary, pension rights and supplementary incomes are to the existence of those affected, there are far more important issues. There is for instance the question of whether the influence of the Bundestag really is increased when a fellow-parliamentarian is appointed alongside a minister or whether this parliamentarian becomes a mere "accomplice" of the executive.

But there is little prospect of politicians acting upon such complicated considerations as these. Existing posts have to be filled and no change in their powers is possible as that would touch upon one of the most sensitive spots a politician knows – consolidated interests.

Discussions, whatever their aim, will continue to revolve around subjects such as salary and maintenance. The Opposition would find it advantageous to put forward a question in the Bundestag to clarify the situation.

It would be interesting to know how many ministerial departments are governed by Parliamentary State Secretaries who have a supplementary income – as for instance as director of a Federal agency. The answer would certainly not change anything but it would provide some information on how strong the desire for reform actually is.

Friedrich Karl Fromme

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 30 March 1973)

The Bundesrat – its role in political life

Münchner Merkur

Claim and counter-claim have b made in recent months on constitutional role of the Bundesrat, Upper House. A short outline of character and functions of the Bunde should bring some clarity into the is

The Bundesrat's character: Politic usually consider the Bundesrat fro party political point of view but authors of Basic Law had a different in mind. It is not the political par themselves that are represented on t Bundesrat but members of the Fed state governments.

The term "party state" was co during the Weimar Republic by critic the system under which politi manipulated or abused the constitu Today as well, the political situatio the various Federal states is exploite order to counter the government ad ideas for purely party political reas All parties have indulged in this cour action though they are not covered Basic Law nor the aims of its authors

When the CDU/CSU Opposition th ens to obstruct government tax pla the Bundesrat, it is violating generally-accepted spirit behind relevant article of Basic Law.

The same is true of the So Democrats' wish to gain a majority in Bundesrat as a result of election wi the Federal states and thus be assur the Upper House's approval for any put forward by the government.

The Bundesrat's role: The Bundes most important role is its share in t legislative process. It can propose B has the right to object to some laws give its vote of approval to others also possesses the right of veto which however be overruled by the Bunde But the type of legislation gen known as "assent laws" requires approval of the Bundesrat before it take effect.

For this reason the "assent laws" individually listed in Basic Law. All aiming to change the constitution into this category (Article 79 of B Law) along with laws to alter the borde of the Federal states (Article legislation enabling the central gove ment to order the Federal states to car out Federal laws in special cases (Artic 84) as well as legislation covering ta that form part of the income of t Federal states and local authorit (Article 105).

Even when only one section of a law subject to assent under Basic Law, t Bundesrat must give its approval to t whole batch of legislation. In reachi their decision, the authors of Basic La ruled that any legislation affecting th relationship between central governme and Federal states in any way requ Bundesrat approval. Because of th country's federalist structure the Bunde rat has more than the right of objection it has indeed been granted an equal sha in legislation.

Controversy has always reigned abo whether the reform of assent laws requ the approval of the Bundesrat, even if th government only plans to alter section that would not otherwise require th support of the Upper House.

This problem has come to the fo recently with the proposed "reform o pensions reform". Some observers arg that reform laws of this type do no require approval but the majority hold that legislation of this sort cannot take effect without the assent of the Bundesrat.

(Münchner Merkur, 27 March 1973)

■ SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Centre for foreign workers at Troisdorf

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Troisdorf, near Bonn, is the second town in North Rhine-Westphalia to open a centre for foreigners. Foreigners in the town make up 10 per cent of the total population, as in Bergisch-Gladbach, the first town to open a centre of this type, the average figure for the Federal state.

North Rhine-Westphalia is traditional immigration territory, including as it does the industrial regions around the Rhine and Ruhr. Plans are afoot to grant foreign workers a share in local administration, if only in a consultative capacity. But in reality there has been no more progress here than elsewhere.

An SPD-FDP Bill on the reform of local administration is due to be discussed by the Provincial Assembly in May but it does not yet contain any clause on the establishment of alien councils as consultative committees.

Free Democrats in the Federal state felt that local authorities should be obliged to establish councils composed of aliens once the number of foreign workers in the area reached a certain proportion. They feel that foreigners would be forced into the role of outsiders if an "aliens' parliament" is set up.

A spokesman for the Christian Democrats in the Federal state spoke of the Troisdorf scheme as an interesting experiment. Regulations were amended to give the foreigners' parliament elected last year the right to sit on certain committees in a consultative capacity.

A few months previously the central government and Federal state backed the establishment of the Troisdorf centre for foreigners as an attempt to integrate foreign workers.

Speaking at a meeting last November, North Rhine-Westphalia's Minister of Labour recommended the major cities to take a leaf out of Troisdorf's book and start similar schemes of cooperation between foreigners and local government.

Aliens' parliaments run the risk of becoming pseudo-democratic debating clubs, some Social Democrats claim. As they only share in administration in a consultative capacity, these foreign workers are first given a few civil rights.

The prototype for this scheme is the new industrial relations law passed last year which gives foreigners full voting rights on works councils. The Free Democrats do not believe that a change in Basic Law to give foreigners the right of suffrage and a share in decision-making at the local level is feasible in the short term.

Some 650,000 foreign workers live in North Rhine-Westphalia and probably only a tiny fraction of them know of the steps being taken to give them a greater share in local government.

More than half these workers have lived in the Federal Republic for longer than four years. Almost one third have lived here for seven years or more. Most of them could therefore be given citizen status in the near future if they seek naturalisation – applications are allowed after ten years' residence – or apply for a permit of indefinite residence – for this they need to have lived in the country five years. Some three thousand applications for naturalisation are granted every year in North Rhine-Westphalia.

Between eighteen and nineteen thousand foreigners apply for naturalisation in the Federal Republic every year. Research institutes are currently being commissioned to examine the ideas on integration entertained by the authorities and institutions dealing with foreigners.

The Hamburg-based Housing and Residence Association is probing this problem on the instigation of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. Replying to questions involving integration obviously causes a number of headaches. Many of the questionnaires are returned to Hamburg only after considerable delay and even then they are not always complete.

The Communication Research Institute in Bonn has been commissioned by the Ministry of Labour to spotlight the "democratic representation" of foreigners in the Federal Republic. Both these surveys should be concluded this spring.

Even without these surveys it is obvious that the main difficulty most foreign workers face in helping take decisions on questions affecting them is their incomplete command of the German language.

A "social minorities group" in Bergisch-Gladbach is seeking new methods of teaching foreigners German. Small conversation groups take place regularly to test how much of the language has been picked up at school or work. The language courses will now take place in the new centre which has been backed financially by the Federal state and local district council.

Representatives of local associations and the town council met spokesman for the various nationalities to prepare the way for the new centre. The local Caritas Association agreed to take over organisation.

The Italians and Spanish later attached particular value to having their rooms separated from those of Greeks, Jugoslavs and Turks.

One of the long-term aims of the centre is to enable foreigners to have a share in local government. The town council has already announced that a subcommittee is to be set up for this purpose within the municipal welfare committee.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 March 1973)

FOREIGN WORKERS IN EUROPE

Numbers in 1,000s

FRG	2350
France	1520
Britain	1200
Switzerland	693
Sweden	221
Austria	220
Belgium	208
Holland	190

Foreign workers as a percentage of total labour force

Holland	5,0
Britain	5,1
Sweden	5,7
Belgium	7,8
Austria	8,1
France	9,7
FRG	10,8
Switzerland	25,7

More foreign workers could not be absorbed, experts claim

Can anyone imagine a Federal Republic without foreign workers? The economy would never stand the loss of 2.4 million workers, various branches of the service industries would be on the brink of ruin, production would drop considerably and the cut in supplies and delay in delivery dates would endanger the competitiveness of our goods in foreign markets. In short, we depend on foreign workers for economic reasons.

It is impossible to calculate exactly how many foreign workers we really need. The numbers demanded by the firms themselves could be taken as a yardstick but is it the correct yardstick? Firms always wish to increase sales and profits.

It might be better in certain cases to build a new factory abroad and employ the local population without uprooting them from their homes. But the decision on this issue and questions such as whether or not to expand a certain branch of production must not be left to the firm's selfish interests alone, especially when the final verdict is of far-reaching importance on migration.

Economic science can hardly be expected to calculate the figures and take the decisions. Economists can do no more than draw attention to problems such as the effects of the employment of foreign workers on the balance of payments.

Foreign workers employed in the Federal Republic transfer considerable amounts of money home every year. As many as six milliard Marks left the country in 1972. The high export surplus recorded by the Federal Republic is therefore justified – the money foreign workers transfer home has to be covered.

But isn't this argument a bit like the snake biting its own tail? Does it not lead to the absurd conclusion that we are employing more and more foreign workers to improve our export position while the increase in our export surpluses has no other purpose than to raise foreign currency for the maintenance of families in Turkey, Italy, Greece and Spain?

The conclusion seems more sensible if the argument is reversed – if the flood of foreign workers into this country is restricted, this would ease our balance of payments position and record foreign trade surpluses would no longer be required to the same extent.

Theoretical considerations of this type play no part or only an extremely subordinate one in the government's efforts to restrict the flood of foreign workers from countries outside the Common Market.

A thoroughly practical issue stands in the forefront. It is more and more evident that the infrastructure of the major conurbations is unable to absorb an unlimited number of foreign workers. There is a shortage of housing, roads, schools and hospitals.

The Mayor of Frankfurt has already indicated that he cannot rule out the possibility of a bar on the immigration of foreign workers into his city. But little would be achieved by independent action of this nature on the part of one or more cities. Foreign workers would only flood to other densely-populated areas to a greater extent.

The time therefore seems ripe for a coordinated solution in all Federal states. New legislation is not required, the old laws must only be applied in standardised fashion. As the employment of foreign workers in conurbations has become a

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

problem, restrictions should be imposed in those areas.

But difficulties begin with the question of just where these conurbations are. Central government, Federal states and local authorities must agree on those areas where the total of foreign workers must not be allowed to grow or where the increase must be restricted to a certain percentage a year.

Coercion will however be required. Intervention could turn out relatively painless if agreements are reached with those countries providing the workers. The amount of expenditure on the expansion of the social infrastructure increases beyond all proportions when foreign workers bring their families to this country. The fewer dependents are brought, the more foreign workers can be admitted to the Federal Republic, as far as expenditure is concerned.

This chain of thought can be followed further. Assume that foreigners from States outside the European Community only received a residence and work permit when they agreed to leave their family behind and return after a number of years – couldn't some advantages be derived from such a solution?

Taxpayers would not have to spend so much on schools and kindergartens while the worker's home country would be assured of a constant supply of skilled or at least trained workers. This would then encourage industrialists from the Federal Republic to open factories in these countries.

As promising as this solution sounds, it pays little consideration to the people involved. Can foreign workers be told that they cannot settle here on any account and that their families are not wanted?

That may not involve any hardship for some of the workers seeking employment here but it is difficult to imagine this solution as being generally applicable.

That is why the only solution to the foreign worker problem in large cities is to restrict their numbers. It appears that employers too are coming round to this view.

Gerhard Meyenburg

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 27 March 1973)

■ ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Europeans, Americans prepare for trade policy confrontation

Europeans and Americans are making heavy weather of the preparations for the major trade-policy confrontation, which is generally expected to reach its decisive phase in the autumn and which could come to a climax next year.

Both sides are busy formulating their concept for the worldwide talks within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt). President Nixon recently announced the powers which he expects to be vested in him for the trade confrontation by American legislators.

The European Community is hard at work drawing the outlines of the position it will take up corresponding to the conclusions reached at the Paris Summit of last October and is thinking over the concessions it may be prepared to make.

The situation at present is that both sides are making preparatory moves before laying their cards on the table – and every statement made is being registered with the utmost interest. In recent days Europe has had a couple of good opportunities to see at first hand the Americans' concepts of the state of world trade and how this can be corrected.

In his report on the international economic situation Richard Nixon hesitated about threatening to use import quotas and special taxes against those trading partners which are unwilling to comply with America's ideas of how to equalise balance of payments gaps and introduce "fair" trading conditions.

Shortly before this at the Community headquarters in Brussels US trade policymakers and EEC commissioners had met for routine consultations at which both sides aimed at making good the lack of institutionalised dialogues half-yearly. Further information came the way of Brussels from the visit of Republican Senator Javit.

Despite the threatening noises that the President has started making again in Washington opinions in Brussels are in general that the United States is unlikely to steer a collision course.

There are a number of reasons for believing this. The recent double monetary crisis left the United States enjoying further boosters to its competitiveness on world markets. This is certainly the case where the ten-per-cent devaluation of the dollar is concerned. It probably can be said to apply also to the Paris compromise package with the communal floating of six EEC countries and other European countries on the basis of a three-per-cent upvaluation of the Mark and vague promises from America that it will take part in measures to support the dollar and siphon off liquid cash from the Euromarket.

And the most recent round of consultations in Brussels at which Under-Secretary of State William J. Casey from the State Department represented the American delegation and Britain's Sir Christopher Soames represented the European Commission have confirmed opinions that the next steps will be cautious tactical manoeuvres.

Casey and Soames left no one in Brussels in any doubt that Europe and America had once again spoken their respective minds without pulling any punches.

The list of complaints the Americans have to lodge has been well known for some time. At the heart of it is the policy of preferential import duties offered by the Common Market to Mediterranean countries which the Americans feel is forcing US products off the market, and the EEC "protectionist" agricultural policy.

The EEC counters this by cataloguing comparisons with agricultural subventions operated by America and the import restrictions imposed by the United States on commodities from the Common Market.

Despite the long-standing nature of this list of complaints the talks in Brussels obviously got under way with both sides prepared to make efforts to avoid poisoning the atmosphere. Casey and Soames stated in complete agreement that the United States now had a great deal more understanding for the so-called counter-preferences which the EEC permits from a number of developing countries, and which have for a long time been a thorn in America's flesh.

What would appear to be even more important is the pointer made by the American delegate to the announcement from Brussels that in the course of this year there will be a general debate designed to lead to a basic revision of the Common Market agricultural policy.

It is here that the heart of the EEC trade concessions must lie, since this farm policy has always been the crux of American attacks. We shall have to wait and see whether the policy will be revised unilaterally or whether it will be part of a worldwide agricultural shake-up.

The most important factor is that the atmosphere is being cleared by this breath of goodwill. Euro-American agricultural relations are, however, only part of the Transatlantic relationship in which reform of the world currency system, defence policies and psychological aspects have a part to play.

Efforts to bring in crisis management are in evidence on both sides, we hear from Brussels, despite Richard Nixon's hard words.

Eberhard Wisdorff

(Die Welt, 27 March 1973)

No agreement in Washington could be good news

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

Bearing the "Smithsinian Agreement" in mind we should be thankful that the Finance Ministers of the twenty major industrial nations left the conference in Washington on 27 March without having made any firm decision.

Was not the agreement reached in the US capital on 17 December 1971 celebrated as the great concerted effort that would at last put an end to the currency crisis? But fixed exchange rates could not sabe the system, despite the fact that the bandwidths had been extended.

This time the Finance Ministers went out of their way to avoid the adjective "fixed". But they were all firmly agreed that the aged currency system must be given a solid base of "stable exchange rates, but rates that could be adjusted easily". Floating was only to be used *in extremis!*

The consensus of opinion after several days of discussion in Washington, then, was back to fairly reliable exchange rates.

US Under-Secretary for Monetary Affairs, Paul Volcker, speaking at a press conference, stressed that the American government did not foresee dangers of another round of currency speculation in the near future. At any rate he was unable to give an explanation of what was meant in the communiqué by stable but flexible exchange rates. He called this "a wonderful phrase open to the widest misinterpretation".

The monetary experts of the countries will be getting their heads together in the next few weeks to work out details of this proposed system of stable but flexible parties. There will be a further meeting in Washington between 21 and 25 May. Delegates will use this opportunity to work out a draft to be presented to the committee of twenty.

On the whole participants in the conference were in unison about the question of currency reserves. In the communiqué they stressed that the role of the currencies of certain countries must be amended and replaced by special drawing rights at the International Monetary Fund. The role of gold as a currency reserve is not mentioned in the communiqué signed by the twenty. Will gold be demonetised in the new system? Or will it be one among many currency reserves?

Walter Pfäfle

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 29 March 1973)

Prices continue to zoom upwards

Scarcely a day goes by without another gloomy message coming from the prices front. A few days ago a new record was announced in the cost of living index, which was 6.8 per cent higher in February this year than the corresponding month in 1972.

Shortly afterwards the figures for industrial producer prices in the month of February were released and they too showed a record rise — the rate for the year being 5.5 per cent.

On 21 March it was reported that the rise in prices in the wholesale trade was 7.7 per cent. For a long time now there has been a noticeable increase in prices month by month. But what is really worrying is that the margins for price increases are expanding all the time which means an acceleration in the depreciation of the value of money.

We know from very old experience that once an inflationary spiral has started it gathers momentum all the time. This applies sadly not only to the Federal Republic but also to other countries.

At the beginning of the seventies rapidly increasing rates of inflation were reported all over the world. If we could only go back to the rates of monetary depreciation of the sixties this would be considered a triumph of stabilisation policy-making.

Chastened, Bonn has become so modest in the aims it sets itself for stabilisation of the Mark that it would be content to peg price rises in 1973 from 5.5 to six per cent.

But since the rate of inflation in these first three months has been over this limit the figures for the remainder of the year must show a remarkable decline in price rises. Economic Affairs Minister Hans Friderichs considers it on the cards that the rate of price rises will level off in the second half of this year.

There has never been any lack of promises of this kind, not even in recent years. It is a year ago since the Bonn government said it confidently expected the rate of inflation to level off in the second half of 1972. The opposite occurred. And today there is every indication that the price situation will worsen.

We are at the beginning of a boom. But a boom has never led to a drop in prices. We are influenced by a worldwide trend towards dearer and dearer prices. This has had such an effect on the international market in raw materials that the international index of prices for raw materials is today fifty per cent higher than it was a year ago.

Revaluation of the Mark has cut importation prices, but this is only a theoretical benefit — this revaluation margin is de facto more than cancelled out by price increases.

You do not need to be a prophet to foresee that wage and salary increases in the second half of this year will break all bounds set by the wage-scale negotiations for 1973.

Before the general election pensions were increased and this was widely acclaimed as a great boon to a poorer section of the community, but all the benefit of this increase has since been swallowed up by inflation. The cost of living for pensioners is up 7.5 per cent compared with one year ago, higher than average because an OAP's main requirement is food and food prices have soared.

Overcoming the inflationary trend was described as the most important part of this country's domestic policies in the statement of government policy made by Chancellor Brandt after the elections. One cannot but accuse Bonn of continuing with excessive government expenditure despite the recommendations to the contrary made by the Bundesbank. The situation with regard to public spending is even worse in the Federal state governments. North Rhine-Westphalia intends to increase its expenditure this year by 4,600 million Marks, which amounts to 21 per cent. If government offices give such a bad example it is no wonder that the inflationary mentality is widespread among the general public.

In-coming orders to firms in this country from home and abroad have increased immensely. Industry reacted by stepping up production, but soon production capacities will be exhausted. This in its turn will give the impulse for a new wave of capital investment and hence a rapid expansion in overall demand which is bound to push up prices enormously.

A hard currency can only be guaranteed by a hard line in politics. But this is not being applied. Reason no longer seems to be in great demand. Reasonable suggestions are being rejected as "unrealistic".

Sooner or later it may be necessary to apply emergency brakes to inflation. It would be *realistic* of the realists to make themselves acquainted with the inevitable outcome of such a move without further delay. Not only jobs would be in danger; so would our free economic system.

Walter Slotosch

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22 March 1973)

Bundesbank holds firm to short-money policy

Alarming reports about the cash situation on the money market have not thrown the Bundesbank off balance. At its meeting on 29 March the Central Bank Committee ignored the appeal made by the banks to make more cash available and decided to continue with its policy of keeping money in short supply.

It is true that the recently recorded interest rates charged on day-to-day borrowing of between fifteen and eighteen per cent (per annum), and at the peak twenty per cent, are the highest for many a long year. But on the other hand the flood of dollars into this country during the recent crises also reached a record level and had to be countered by extraordinary measures.

These extremely high interest rates for short-term borrowing are by no means a symptom of an extreme shortage of cash in the economy, but are far more the

Continued on page 7

■ INDUSTRY

Bonn must take active steps to ensure oil supply

DIE ZEIT

When ministries in Bonn speak of fuel and power policy civil servants and politicians alike as a general rule consider national problems such as coalmining or the difficulties involved in building atomic power stations. At the moment no one thinks any further, and certainy no further action is taken.

Such a self-centred attitude could be fatal for this country's economy as a whole. It would be catastrophic if our politicians let the crisis in coalmining distract their attention away from the greater evil that threatens us all: a world-wide shortage of fuel and power. If this comes in the next few years (as many experts fear) the Federal Republic will be practically unprepared.

The Americans have already experienced the precusors of this crisis, and nothing guarantees this country from blackouts and a shortage of petrol in the coming years. It will take at least twenty years before oil is ousted from its position as the most important source of energy.

The more energy we require the more oil we must import. The more oil we import the greater the competition with other countries that are swarming round the derricks in Africa and the Middle East. This is not a grim vision of the future but is already occurring today.

The United States must already import more than thirty per cent of its oil requirements, the Federal Republic 95 per cent and the Japanese almost 100 per cent. In this country as in the United States and Japan we know that our import requirement will rise considerably. But there is an essential difference in the conclusions: Americans and Japanese already operate oil diplomacy, but in Bonn this expression is almost unknown.

For some time there has been a process of realignment in the relationships between supplying countries and their customers. This could provide a major opportunity for the have-nots in the world of oil such as the Federal Republic, but Bonn looks like missing the boat.

The fact that the lights have not yet gone out in the Federal Republic for lack of electricity should not make us ignore the growing danger. Up till now it has been no problem supplying refineries and power stations. International oil companies always ensure prompt delivery.

But when the day comes that there is not an excess but rather an acute shortage of oil there could quite easily be conflicts. The headquarters of oil companies in Britain and the United States will not reward Bonn for its inactivity by guaranteeing West German customers an energy supply that they themselves do not enjoy.

Is there in fact a way out of this dilemma? Securing our own drilling concessions is an illusory hope. Such a policy could only be reminiscence of the days when the world of oil-drilling was in good order. Bonn has at least recognised the truth of this. There would be little sense in investing millions in concessions that were positively threatened with confiscation.

It was quite right of Bonn to vote against becoming involved in the oil fields of Abu Dhabi. There would have been no security for this investment which would have cost almost 1,000 millions Marks. Just how quickly confiscation can come about was shown recently by the Shah of Iran. He announced at short notice the nationalisation of foreign petroleum investments.

But as the traditional oil companies lose in significance in the supplying countries the government in question has at its disposal ever greater quantities of crude oil. And each country is free to choose its own customers. This does not only apply to Iran but also to other oil-exporting countries, such as Libya, Saudi Arabia and Iraq. Could this be a silver lining to the cloud?

Precisely the opposite. In Teheran of all places, which has in the past placed the most store by bilateral agreements, Bonn is obviously being crowded out by competitors.

In recent months a number of oil consuming countries have concluded agreements with the nationalised NIOC (National Iranian Oil Company). The Persians have agreed to direct importation and in return they are able to invest part of their profits in customer countries a concession that need not harm anyone.

While the Japanese above all are busily securing themselves part of the flood of oil from Iran Bonn has no successes to report. And no wonder, for the Federal Republic-Iranian oil negotiations never got further than hopeful beginnings.

When Chancellor Willy Brandt returned a year ago from a State visit to Iran there were budding hopes, quite justifiably, of a national oil supply. But these never came to fruition.

Obviously the negotiations have been in limbo since last autumn. Bonn claims to be waiting until the political situation in the oil-producing countries has crystallised out. But then it may be too late to introduce an oil policy. Anyone who does not keep possession of the ball in the Middle East quickly loses the game.

Now is a favourable time for the conclusion of long-term supply agreements. Saudi Arabia has stated publicly that it is prepared to negotiate. But the Federal govornement seems to be waiting for an invitation. It does not at the moment seem to place great store by making initiatives of its own.

Bonn's fuel and power policy-markers are keeping a back door open. It is not Bonn but Deminex that is responsible for negotiations. But this excuse is far too easy to see through.

State-dependent Deminex

It is no secret that Deminex with its seven partners, some of them government agencies, cannot negotiate without the backing of State financing. Deminex operates practically on a government commission. It is only with the aid of State loans at particulary favourable rates that Deminex is able to carry out test drilling.

Even if drilling in Africa and South America proves successful Bonn will not be able to guarantee oil supplies without Middle East suppliers. It would be easy for the Economic Affairs Ministry to order Deminex to pursue a far more aggressive business policy.

The risk of failure cannot be denied. But it would be less than the risk of passively waiting for something to happen.

It seems almost as if Bonn is waiting for a miracle. And in order to show goodwill at least verbally experts at Hans Friderich's Ministry are working on an energy supply report.

However, this is little consolation. A situation report alone will not work for us the miracle of a sure supply of fuel and power.

Klaus-Peter Schmid

(Die Zeit, 30 March 1973)

Ruhr coke exports don't amount to much

Up till a short while ago all the talk was about the Federal Republic steel industry pressing for supplies of cheaper coke from abroad. And the United States is one of the countries on the international market that looks a potential supplier of coking coal to this country.

Now Ruhrkohle, Essen, a company that needs to undergo a programme of streamlining, has completed its second contract to *export* coke to the United States. The first delivery at the end of February was 200,000 tons to the giant US company Bethlehem Steel. The second shipment is 500,000 tons to another American steel producer.

This apparent contradiction can easily be explained. Ruhrkohle sold this coke to the United States at less than the list price of 145 Marks a ton, but more than the "balance price", that is to say the value placed on the coke on dumps. Normally this price is calculated et two-thirds of the list price.

The list price of coking coal from the Ruhr is at present 94.50 Marks. But in 1972 West German industry did not pay this price but an "arbitration court price" of 78.59 Marks a ton.

Revaluation of Mark and devaluation of the dollar since then has made this country's coking coal even less competitive in price than that produced in America.

However interesting this report about deliveries of coke to the United States may be at this time the economic significance of these sales agreements should not be over-estimated. At the moment no one in the United States is prepared to conclude long-term contracts with the Ruhr on the delivery of coal.

The reason for this importation of coke into the United States is that the demand for steel at present is high and this has exhausted American coking plant.

We must also bear in mind that at present the stockpiles at Ruhrkohle dumps comprise 8,400,000 tons of coke and 7,400,000 tons of coal, tying up close on two thousand million Marks.

With this in mind these exports to the United States are no more than a drop in the ocean. The actual significance of these export agreements is psychological. At least this is action and not reaction for the first time in months. At long last there is some cheering news to break up the long series of grim reports from Ruhrkohle.

Heiner Radzio

(Handelsblatt, 21 March 1973)

Continued from page 6

consequence of an unusual expansion of the volume of credit at commercial banks.

The expansion of credit financing is threatening to get out of hand, and it is the aim of a restrictive banking policy to put the brakes on this. The idea is to prevent a boom with overheating of the economy.

Nor should we be surprised that the Bundesbank is exhausting its armoury after it has been left completely to its own devices with regard to the fight against the highly threatening inflationary situation.

Bundesbank President Karl Klasen told the press once again on 29 March of the dangers to a stable currency of irresponsible credit financing of public spending. The pressure on banks' liquid reserves will only be eased in special cases. The high interest rates on the money market are regarded by the Bundesbank as a sign that the brakes are beginning to bite. This could be the first stage of recovery.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 30 March 1973)

Keeping raw material prices low will help fight inflation

The statement that the Club of Ten, the most important industrial nations of the West, who took part in the second monetary conference intend to step up their anti-inflationary measures, has been viewed by and large as just the usual sort of hand-out. But as part of the plan is to dry up the Eurodollar market the intention of fighting inflation, it seems, could be taken seriously.

In this respect one could take the line that the commercialisation of strategic American siloing is among the possibilities for beating the international inflation bug.

The idea as such is not new.

It has been institutionalised and put into practice in the international interest rates, agreement, but in this case aims at achieving the optimum income for the producing countries involved in the agreement.

In the so-called Haberler Report, now fifteen years old, the possibility was foreseen that individual countries should be able to create such regulatory stocks, stockpiling raw materials in times of plenty and freeing them at times when supplies were low.

It must be confessed that finacing of such national supplies of raw materials is still practicable, as long as the aims are not too ambitious.

It is essential to carry it out to such an extent as that provided for the basic principles of the Havana Charter, providing free access to the mineral supplies of this Earth, preventing those who happen by good luck to possess vital raw materials blocking them or at least placing restricitions. For such a system to work it is vital for the "raw materials commissioners" to be able to act at the crucial moment. Their aim should be to ensure supplies of a least a minimum for existence and to prevent excessive cashing in by the haves, but not simply to stabilise prices.

Harberler's idea is not one that can be implemented in a matter of moments. But as a start the American administration which has the required knowhow, at least in ministerial spheres, would be able to pour oil on troubled waters whenever considerable supplies are available.

It is obvious, for example, that there will be protests at the International Tin Council if part of such supplies were sold. On the other hand however, prices are backed up when buying is heavy.

Up till now there have been nothing firmer than declarations of intent which have proved effective in the case of non-ferrous metals and regulations issued by the authorities in the case of cattle fodder, which have helped to defuse the situation. The question is whether other ways will be found. We must not forget that the end of the Korea boom was also brought about by the American administration. Latest developments at any rate have levelled out price rises to about two per cent, as compared with the second half of February.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 22 March 1973)

■ SHIPPING

Shipowners diversify into plane chartering

At Hapag-Lloyd's head offices in Hamburg the staff have recently been supplied with new furniture, and pundits feel this development to symbolise the pace at which this country's largest shipping line has expanded over the past year.

The tempestuous development has been reminiscent of the pre-war days of Albert Ballin, under whose management Hapag became the world's leading line, the company's progress being marked by a continual extension of line services and strict maintenance of sound finances combined with daring entrepreneurial initiative.

Hapag-Lloyd (in 1970 Hapag merged with Norddeutscher Lloyd and regained its position as one of the world's leading shipping lines) is now no longer limited to freight and passenger shipping.

The company has jettisoned ballast in the grand manner, accompanying rationalisation by fresh commitments in container and supertanker shipping, and embarked for the first time ever on a non-maritime venture.

The first two jumbo jets sporting the Hapag-Lloyd colours, cognac and blue, will soon be heading for the Mediterranean under charter for Hetzel, Neckermann and TUI.

They herald a new era in the history of a world-famous shipping company, an era in which large-scale tourism, tanker and tramp shipping will form the financial mainstays of the line. The ocean liners that were once the twin companies' pride and joy are past history.

For traditionalists and dreamers the merger of Hapag, or Hamburg-Americanische Packetfahrt-Actien-Gesellschaft, to give it its full name dating back to 1847, and Norddeutscher Lloyd of Bremen, set up some ten years later, must have come as something of a shock.

At one fell swoop two of the oldest shipping companies in Germany abandoned not only their independence but also a tradition of competition between Hamburg and Bremen they had helped to foster for over a century.

The merger, however, resulted in "an optimum distribution of tonnage for the future, a rational shipbuilding policy and the concerted use of combined financial and manpower reserves," according to a company spokesman.

In view of substantial structural changes in international shipping the merger and the greater opportunities it opened up were absolutely essential. Joining forces was the only way of maintaining the two lines' market positions, expanding and moving into fresh sectors.

Containerisation, which is increasingly bringing the era of general cargo to an end, has inaugurated structural changes in overseas line shipping that involve financial risks and expenditure of such a high order that only major companies can foot the bill.

One container vessel costs several times the price of a conventional freighter but does the work of five, carrying more cargo over greater distances in forty-foot containers packed as full as furniture vans that can, moreover, be transported from door to door.

Hapag-Lloyd has had to raise more than 1,000 million Marks to build ten container freighters, nine of which are already in operation. This is a sum hitherto unparalleled in the history of the German merchant navy.

The investment has proved worthwhile. The first freighter laden with its full complement of 2,200 containers not only paid its way in the course of a sixty-day tour; it made a profit of some 300,000 Marks.

Another shipping innovation that shipowners quickly realised must be a money-spinner is the Lash combination, lash standing for "lighter aboard ship."

Lash ships are vessels that carry fully-laden lighters to their port of destination, the lighters then sailing up rivers and canals to inland recipients.

The *München*, Hapag-Lloyd's and this country's first lash ship, has been taken into service in response to the meteoric rise in costs that makes rationalisation indispensable.

After initial hesitation the company decided to think in terms of the eighties in tanker shipping too. Two 386,000-tonners have been ordered from AG Weser, the Bremerhaven shipyard, and a further two 150,000-tonners from a foreign yard.

By the time these giant tankers are in operation, towards the end of 1976, Hapag-Lloyd's tanker tonnage will exceed the total tonnage of its ships of the line.

The two 386,000-tonners are 370 metres, or 1,214 feet, in overall length, cost roughly 350 million Marks to build and will cost roughly 160,000 Marks a day to run!

One change in particular amply documents the pace at which changes have occurred. Prior to the merger Hapag owned 67 vessels and Lloyd fifty. Now they run only 66 between them, though their total tonnage is roughly 800,000 GRT and the joint enterprise is thus the eighth largest commercial shipowner in the world.

Hapag-Lloyd also run a number of ancillary enterprises and subsidiaries and own a part-share in other firms. These include shipyards and docks in Bremen and Hamburg, a travel agency with 65 branches in thirty towns, a firm operating 28 tugs, coastal shipping and port enterprises.

All in all, the company has a payroll of 9,000, 5,200 of whom are sailors on the high seas, and in an age when the romanticism of a life on the ocean waves no longer exercises the attraction of days gone by sweeping changes are under way among the seagoing staff.

Integrated crew is the catchphrase. What it means is that in future a small number of all-rounders will man ships. The distinction between stokers and seamen dates back to he days of sailing ships when the AB would have nothing to do with newfangled steam engines and makes little or no sense in this day and age.

Hapag-Lloyd demonstrated the prevalent manpower waste with the *SS Erlangen*. On its maiden voyage it boasted a crew of 35. On its latest voyage to the Far East a complement of 25 men kept things shipshape.

Integration meant that stokers helped out on deck and able seamen lent a hand in the engineroom when the need arose.

Alongside regular freighter services to 231 ports all over the world passenger shipping remains something special. Luxury ocean liners still foster a company's image, but of course the days of floating palaces in which international high society held rip-roaring parties as the flagships battled to set up new records for the North Atlantic run are over and done with.

Hapag-Lloyd sold this country's largest passenger liner, the *Bremen*, in 1971 after having bought the erstwhile *Pasteur* from France in 1958 for thirty million Marks and refitting it at a cost of a further 65 million Marks.

Jet clippers of the air relegated ocean liners to the status of slow boats and costs rose and rose until the point was reached at which this chapter in the history of German shipping had to be brought to an end.

Some time previously Hapag had sold its passenger freighters that had proved so popular on the Far East run both before the war and on the resumption of services in he post-war years.

After ten years in operation these combined freighters with accommodation for 86 passengers were no longer a going concern. They were technically outmoded, too small, too slow and too expensive.

In addition to the normal crew the 86 passenger called for a further staff of fifty, an expense that was no longer justified. The only passenger vessel still operated by Hapag-Lloyd is the 21,500-ton *Europa*.

In order to diversify still further Hapag-Lloyd have now established a foothold in a sector that is something new and unusual for a shipping company, charter flying.

Investment in aviation still bears no comparison with what the company ploughs into shipping, but even so Hapag-Lloyd will probably take their third Boeing 727 into service early in May and further medium-distance aircraft are to be taken on next year.

Since last December a payroll of 173, including thirty pilots, fifteen flight engineers and fifty air hostesses, have been systematically preparing for the new venture. Capacity is fully booked for 1973. In this unitial year Hapag-Lloyd are reckoning with a turnover of 37 million Marks in the air charter sector. PR officer Simonsen's comment on the inauguration of the venture is characteristic.

"We are," he noted, "only reclaiming the passenger traffic we lost to the airlines in the first place."

Gert Kistenmacher

(Suddeutsche Zeitung, 28 March 1973)

Bremen shipyards well placed for supertanker orders

DIE WELT

Supertankers of 300,000 tons and more are growing increasingly important, a large number of orders having been placed with shipyards in Europe and Japan in recent months.

At the end of January 78 of these giants with a total deadweight tonnage of some 26.3 million were either under construction or on order.

According to statistics compiled by the Bremen Shipping Trade Institute the work is being shared out by shipyards in ten countries, AG Weser, the Bremerhaven yard, and Bremer Vulkan of Bremen being among the front-runners in terms of orders placed.

The largest supertankers currently on order are two 540,000-tonners under construction in France for Shell. The total also includes the *Globtik Tokyo*, taken into service in February and at 477,000 tdw the largest vessel currently afloat.

Japanese shipyards are building or have on their order books 26 supertankers with a total of 8.8 million tons, or 33.5 per cent of the total.

Second on the list come the two Bremen yards with thirteen tankers, 4.5 million tons and 17.1 per cent of the total on order. Seven 313,000-ton tankers are to be built by Bremer Vulkan and six by AG Weser.

A further thirteen units totalling 4 million tons deadweight are to be built by the Lindo yard of Odense, Denmark.

Harland & Wolff of Belfast, jointly responsible with Bremer Vulkan for the development of the 313,000-tonner's design, have orders for four of these and a further six slightly larger oil tankers with a combined tonnage of 3.25 million corresponding to 12.3 per cent of the world total.

(Die Welt, 22 March 1973)

Shipping statistics

At the end of February 1973 the merchant navy totalled 2,197 vessels with a total tonnage of 7.65 million GRT, according to Transport Ministry statistics. This represented a decline of sixteen ships and 75,170 GRT on the figures for the previous month.

The number of dry freighters alone was down eighteen and 56,737 tons on January, currently standing at 1,796 units totalling 5.76 million GRT.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 26 March 1973)

Merchant navy tonnage down

The Opposition has called on the Federal government to compile a report on the current situation of the merchant navy. A motion to this effect has been tabled in the Bonn Bundestag by Gerhard Orgass, a Christian Democratic member for Hamburg.

Herr Orgass commented in Hamburg that according to the Federal Transport Ministry at least 637 ships were either sold abroad or transferred to a flag of convenience in the 1971/72 financial year.

As a result the number of jobs available on board merchant vessels owned and registered in this country declined by some 19,000 to 45,500 in all.

The Opposition politician expressed his regret that the Federal Transport Ministry had given the Shipowners Association the go-ahead for deregistration in a communication of last August.

A number of the ships transferred to foreign ownership or registration had, he noted, been built with the aid of either government grants or tax concessions.

The outcome, he continued, had been an alarming decline in tonnage and above all in the number of vessels registered. The overall tonnage of the merchant navy had declined by a third.

Federal Republic sailors working on vessels flying a foreign flag lacked both the protection afforded by labour legislation in this country and the social provisions of all kinds that would otherwise automatically apply.

What is more, Herr Orgass concluded the decline in tonnage has already left 11,000 sailors from this country quitting the merchant navy.

The Opposition has also asked what the Federal government's overall outlook on the future of the merchant navy is. It suggested that an inquiry be conducted to ascertain the reasons for the decline.

The Christian Democrats tabled thirteen individual queries. Shipping, Herr Orgass claimed, would probably prove to be in need of wide-ranging assistance. It has been particularly hard hit by dollar devaluation and deutschmark revaluation.

The Green Plan for agriculture, he maintained, was a recognised concept, but a Blue Plan for the merchant navy was conspicuous by its absence. Yet shipping played a not unimportant role in the economy as a whole, Herr Orgass claimed.

(Die Welt, 28 March 1973)

■ SPACE RESEARCH

Helios solar probe prototype proves successful

Handelsblatt
DEUTSCHE WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG

Helios, the solar probe project on which this country and the United States have joined forces, has now reached the prototype stage, a number of alterations having been undertaken in the wake of last autumn's critical design review.

The project was first mooted in 1966 and will cost an estimated 500 million Marks, making it the most expensive bilateral enterprise so far in space research. It also represents the first European venture into outer space.

The main contractor for the development and construction of the solar probe is Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm of this country, an indication of how seriously the United States and more particularly Nasa taken the aerospace industry on this side of the Atlantic, which can lay claim to a certain amount of practicularly Nasa takes the aerospace industry on this side of the Atlantic, which can lay claim to a certain amount of practical experience with the Azur, Heos and Aeros satellites.

The department responsible in this country is the Bonn Ministry of Research and Technology, its immediate responsibility for the project having been delegated to the Space Research Association. The Federal Republic Aerospace Research Institute is also associated with the project, as are a fair number of industrial concerns as sub-contractors.

Overall expenditure of roughly 900 million Marks will be shared equally by the United States and this country.

The Helios solar probe's mission will be to explore interplanetary space. It will conduct ten experiments, three supervised by the United States and seven by this country. Each of the ten depends on a separate and highly complex miniature space laboratory.

The individual subjects of investigation include solar wind, interplanetary magnetic fields, solar and galactic radiation and interplanetary meteorite dust.

Helios will operate in greater proximity to the Sun than any of its space probe predecessors. The Earth is roughly 150 million kilometres from the Sun; Helios will approach to within 37.5 million kilometres of the centre of our solar system.

In shape the probe resembles a gigantic cotton reel. On its off-centre orbit it will encounter extremes in temperature ranging between single and sixteenfold solar intensity.

One of the most important tasks facing Erno, the sub-contractor responsible for the probe's shell, has thus been the development of an effective system of regulating temperature.

As a rule a body increasing in temperature to about fifteen degrees centigrade in terrestrial orbit would increase in temperature to more than 300 degrees at the closest point to the Sun Helios will reach.

In point of fact the average temperature of the satellite core will be twenty degrees centigrade, while the temperature on the outer surfaces of the solar cells will vary between minus ninety and plus 180 degrees centigrade.

This insulation is achieved by means of shields and reflectors, and the instruments are protected by five-millimetre plastic matting which affords protection equivalent to that of a thirty-metre thick wall of reinforced conrete.

The various insulation devices have been subjected to exhaustive scale model trials in solar simulation tests at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, California.

Satellite-ground communications represent a further problem, Helios bearing witness to the progress that has been made in space electronics.

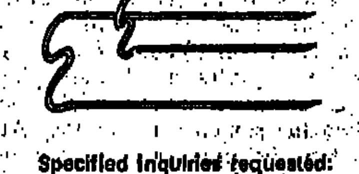
Back in 1959 America's Pioneer IV would not have been capable of transmitting more than one item of information per day over a distance of 300 million kilometres. Helios will transmit more than 100 items of

Continued on page 12

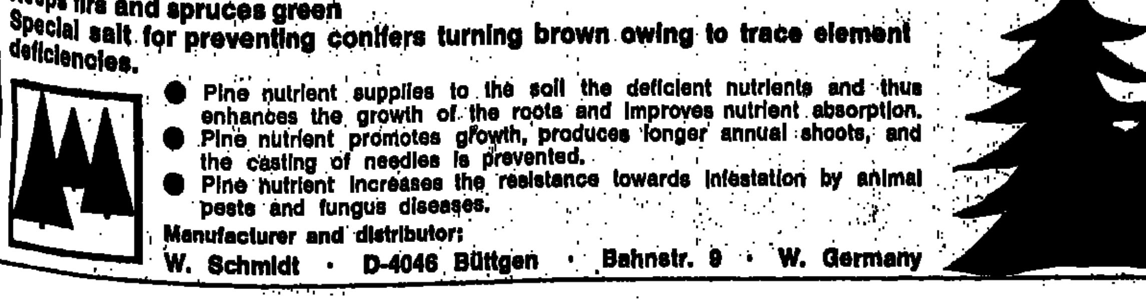
Testing effects of rain

Dornier of Friedrichshafen have developed a new rain erosion rotor capable of three times the speed of sound. Dornier used the unit to test the properties of metals, glass and synthetics in rainfall at high speeds. Raindrops can be dangerous. At 2.5 Mach a six-millimetre thick pane of glass was shattered in two seconds. The tests are being conducted to increase the safety of glass used in supersonic aircraft. (Photo: Archiv)









■ ROUND THE ARTS

Exhibition of Horst Janssen drawings in Hanover

A fascinating artistic experience is at present under way in Hanover, the first comprehensive presentation of the work of Horst Janssen from 1969 to the present day. It is rarely that we encounter such depth, intensity and freedom in creative art.

Janssen's drawings and etchings move at a new, previously unattained niveau, outdoing practically everything else that is offered elsewhere today in the way of creative art.

It is the second major Horst Janssen exhibition of the Kestner Society started by Wieland Schmied. The first glance back over his work in 1965/66 demonstrated the high quality of Janssen's drawings and sketches and



A Janssen self-portrait (1971)

helped this artist to make an international breakthrough. Since then he has been so prolific that only selected works can now be shown.

He has done more than 600 etchings and about 400 drawings in his own particular style since the autumn of 1969. Janssen calls these his "professional" drawings.

The Hanover exhibition is showing about half the drawings and a third of the etchings, individual works and series. Some are arranged thematically, others chronologically and most of them are shown in the voluminous catalogue.

Horst Janssen's work in recent years has become more mature, freer and more carefully balanced without losing any of its tension and intensity. In all aspects of it we see how he turns to Nature far more than in the past, while at thy same time playing out a conflict with art of the past. The present appears as a caeseless dialogue with history, while the history of art in its turn becomes a live show, a reflection of the *Ich* and its problems.

The earliest of the figurative drawings such as *Birke* (birch) and *Schnecke* (snail) show the playfully macabre stripping off and deformation with which Janssen satirises the sex-crazed seventies. At the same time he provocatively casts doubt on conventional aesthetics.

Shortly after this we see a new, highly differentiated simplicity permeate his figures, heads, flowers and lanscapes.

His drawings of women's heads *Verena*, *Gesche* and *Bettina* are captivating examples of this as is the lengthy series of self-questioning self-portraits. These include *Self-protrait with cardboard nose*, *Self-portrait with wig*, *Self-portrait as Mirabeau* and *Self-portrait – Well that's all right* with which Janssen tried to extract new gripping nuances from the multi-levelled, variegated light motif of his life.

Among the most fascinating exhibits in Hanover are the copies and variations of old masters including Botticelli, Brueghel, Dürer, Chardin, Schadow, Füsli and Gavarni. In these Janssen unfolds his deepest powers of empathy, his unfathomable mascarade and his ceaseless pleasure in the artistic in incomparable fashion.

Alter Stiefel, gemenzelt, Baldung Grien, drawn in the style of Hokusai, these and similar drawings give an idea of the intellectual paraphrases which Janssen invents.

The artist's own *Ich* is in everything he does. Shardin's self-portrait takes on Janssen's characteristics, behind Verocchio's angel we see Janssen's facial features and "quotation" based on Goya's self-portrait with his doctor Arrieta, of 1820, becomes a gripping self-portrait when executed by Janssen.

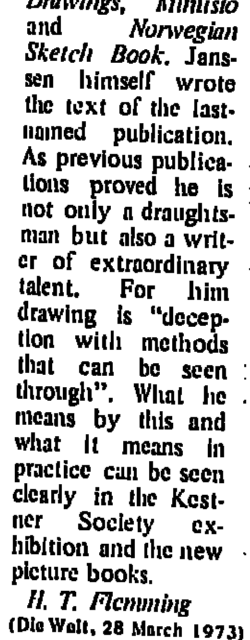
The self-portrait in Janssen's art can also be an expression and reflectionof an alien novel plot. One example of this is the series *Hanno's Death* consisting of 23 small etchings done in mid-December 1972. This is based on the text of Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* illustrating the death of Hanno from typhus by a series of self-portrait's that gradually disintegrate.

Just how much traditional motifs and Janssen's own stamp form in indissoluable symbiosis can be seen at this exhibition, particularly in the drawings of the Toninelli series *Carnevale di Venezia*. In this series too the slogan is: Say what you have to say through a mask.

"The outstanding feature that makes Janssen's drawings of such high quality," Wieland Schmied writes in the catalogue, "is that they have an awareness of coming at the end of a century's old history of drawing without becoming in the slightest eclectic."

What Janssen has taken over from others always seems to be related to his own mode of expression and always filled completely with contemporary life. The Hanover exhibition presents a "new Janssen" that has grown organically from the old. He has thrown out all unwanted balast and does not bother himself with any supposed contemporary fad although he is contemporary in the deepest sense. Like Picasso his drawings show the possible vitality and constant peril of Man in our epoch with complete technical perfection of drawing and etching. This worthwhile exhibition also contains first editions of three new Janssen picture books published recently by Propylaen Verlag which has sole rights on Janssen since the beginning of the year. The titles: *New Drawings*, *Minusio* and *Norwegian Sketch Book*. Janssen himself wrote the text of the last-named publication. As previous publications proved he is not only a draughtsman but also a writer of extraordinary talent. For him drawing is "deception with methods that can be seen through". What he means by this and what it means in practice can be seen clearly in the Kestner Society exhibition and the new picture books.

H. T. Flemming
(Die Welt, 28 March 1973)





Horst Janssen's *Nach Botticelli* (1971)

The street – historically, functionally and sociologically

The Street" is the theme of a photographic exhibition at present on show in Düsseldorf Kunsthalle. It is purely photography treating the subject of the street from a variety of different aspects: historical, functional and sociological. Brief annotations show the various aspects of the individual groups of pictures.

The material confronts the visitor exclusively with scenes with which he will be completely familiar, from his own experience, from newspapers and illustrated magazines so that at first they have no specific effect.

After a longer gaze at the exhibits, however, the visitor sees the function of the characteristic of such an exhibition; separation and juxtaposition give an idea of alienation from the everyday which arouses the visitor's critical faculties.

The street as a way of getting from A



(Photos: Katalog)

to B, as a market, as a forum of p[…] expression during demonstrations […] place for communal gaiety during […] processions, as a demarcation between races and classes. When st[…] become desolate or are choked […] traffic the community spirit dies […] difficulties of communication arise.

When the visitor leaves this exhib[…] his heightened awareness comes […] clearly. He sees how the facades of t[…] insurance offices and multi-storey p[…] lots dull the senses of passers-by. […] pedestrian shopping precincts with […] life and gaiety, lack of cars, varied […] window displays and street caf[…] centres of attraction which make f[…] entirely different kind of life […] community spirit.

The exhibition, subtitled "Design […] Living Together" has been taken over […] the Düsseldorf Kunsthalle from […] van-Abbe Museum, Eindhoven, in […] Netherlands. Additions were made […] Düsseldorf street scenes on slides. Th[…] are projected on to a screen intersp[…] with other unfamiliar street sce[…] Several small booths have been set u[…] the exhibition hall for this purpose.

The remaining pictures are set […] along the walls. Recorded sounds […] played over loudspeakers to give […] background of typical street noises.

The pictures themselves are […] exhibited as to form streets of their […] and traffic signs are hung from the c[…] to form revolving objects. These are […] Peter Brüning, who has also created […] amber and green lamps as optic sig[…] associated with the street. At t[…] entrance is a mirror so that the visitor […] made aware that he is trapped in […] street scene.

A catalogue has been produced, w[…] wide-ranging, in fact more so than t[…] exhibition itself, and highly informa[…]

Just how much this exhibition has […] do with "art" is a matter for perso[…] decisions as always with this m[…] discussed subject. What is undeniable […] the social relevance of the exhibition […] which was obviously the intention of the […] organisers.

Christa Sobe
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 March 197[…])

■ THEATRE

Brunswick puppetry week is not very exciting

Marionette theatres have lately enhanced their reputation in this country as well as abroad. Word has spread that they are far more than Punch and Judy shows for children.

Although some Punch and Judy elements still linger on, they are of negligible importance in any serious discussion of puppetry. Though comic figures are sometimes required and the majority of the audience are children, puppetry is a genre in its own right and there is only one yardstick – quality.

Puppeteers realise this but how do they react? It was fair enough a supposition to expect an answer to this question at the Brunswick Puppetry Week which was recently staged for the sixth time since 1957.

Though it styles itself international, it could hardly have been less so this year. Apart from the charmingly perfect cabaret performance by André Tahon's *marottes* from Paris and the excellently directed display of animal puppets by Olso's New Theatre, all the puppeteers were from the Federal Republic.

It was possible to study a representative cross-section of marionette theatres in this country and unfortunately the display was far from impressive. There is evidently a lack of supply and demand. Though at one time an annual event, Brunswick Puppetry Week now only takes place every three years.

It is difficult to estimate how many puppet theatres exist in this country. A little over thirty puppeteers belong to the union but many of those are approaching retirement age and the future does not look rosy.

Despite the fact that young people still devote themselves to puppetry and achieve remarkable success with their puppets, the Brunswick Puppetry Week was dominated by the old well-known theatres with puppets and plays that are ten or twenty years old. Their performances were however charming and workmanlike and standards have improved.

Hermann Welle, who interrupted his retirement shortly before his eightieth birthday to restate his belief in the fairy story, displayed lighthearted humour in his demonstration of puppetry and allowed his audience to witness part of the history of the marionette theatre. His theatre is fifty years old and the play thirty.

It has been said time and again that marionette theatres in this country are at a disadvantage when competing on an international basis. This is still true. Most are family concerns with only a few puppeteers and they can never achieve the same consistently high standards as the State marionette theatres from Eastern Europe.

That is why puppeteers from this country thought of staging a joint production at the Brunswick Puppetry Week. This promising experiment was the curtain-raiser to the Festival. The work chosen was Friedrich Dürrenmatt's *Besuch der Alten Dame*, adapted by Peter K. Steinmann of Berlin. The city of Brunswick, always generous where puppetry is concerned made the production possible. The audience's applause revealed that its support was worthwhile.

To counteract the lack of acting and the inevitable shortening of the play, Jochen Grundmann produced various types of puppets, ranging from string marionettes to hand puppets and silhouettes.

The Old Lady herself changed from a silhouette to a rod-manipulated puppet while Ill appeared in various forms depending on his importance in he scene in question.

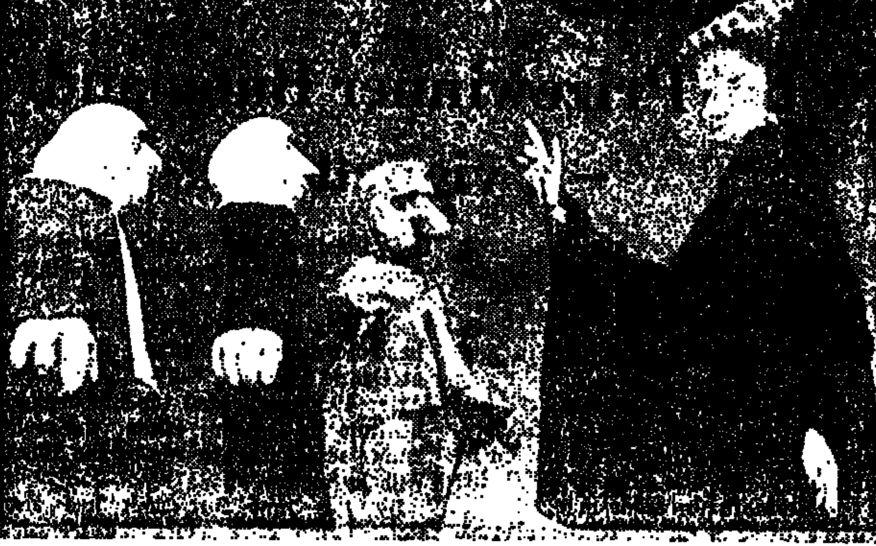
But these varying techniques did not merge into a unit. The idea did not pass the teething stage and it was evident that a project of this type could not mature in a fortnight. The optical effects were distributed unequally and stage capacity was not always exploited to the full.

Puppetry has always tried to imitate the human theatre when seeking improvements. This imitation is not always fruitful however. The joint production staged in Brunswick incorporated effects such as changing scenery while the curtain was still up and making puppets appear from the auditorium. Much of its credibility and originality was lost as a result.

No new stylistic stimulation was given by this production and the same is true of Ted Morée's political cabaret and Alfred Roser's elegant marionette variety shown which ended the Festival.

Fresh impetus was only provided by the educational play of puppet theatres from Frankfurt and Berlin. The young members of these two ensembles play with children, use the puppetry scenes as examples and then involve the children in conversation about what they have seen.

Karl Veit Riedel
(Die Welt, 27 March 1973)



A scene from Dürrematt's *Besuch der alten Dame* adapted for the puppet theatre.
(Photo: dpa)

Season's best seven at Berlin Theatre Festival

Seven of the best productions staged in the 1972–72 season have been invited to attend this year's Berlin Theatre Festival from 12 to 14 May by the Critics Jury.

Frankfurt Theatre is to stage its production of Ibsen's *Nora* while Berlin's Schaubühne is to put on two Peter Stein productions – Marieluise Fleissner's *Fegefeuer in Ingolstadt* and Kleist's *Prinz von Homburg*.

The Critics Jury also chose two productions from Hamburg's Deutsches Schauspielhaus – Thomas Bernhard's *Der Ignorant und der Wahnsinnige* and *Stallerhof* by Franz Xaver Kroetz.

Cologne Theatre is to put on Hebbel's *Maria Magdalena* and Munich's Kammerspiele is to stage Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya*.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 28 March 1973)

Tankred Dorst's *Eiszeit* premiered at Bochum

Bochum Theatre, producer Peter Zadek and playwright Tankred Dorst were once again the centre of attention when *Eiszeit* (Ice Age) was given its premiere in the city. The play is supposed to deal and yet not deal with Norwegian writer and Nazi sympathiser Knut Hamsun.

Dorst claimed in interviews that only an indirect connection exists between the play and Hamsun. We know better now that the premiere has taken place. *Eiszeit* is in every respect a play about Hamsun. Its material is based on Knut Hamsun's diaries.

But what did Dorst wish to show? His theme was senile stubbornness, the gradual departure of an old man from the world of reality around him and from the responsibility he has in and for his life, the obstinate refusal to accept the consequences of any moral appraisal of past actions.

As both come from the same profession, Tankred Dorst looked upon the figure of the ninety-year-old Knut Hamsun as an obvious choice for his play. It had to be a character who was not neutral, who had laden moral guilt upon himself and because of his increasing senility was unable – and unwilling – to come to terms with his past.

The Hamsun in Dorst's play wrote a eulogistic obituary notice for Hitler in April 1945. Hitler has after all invited him to tea only a few years previously.

But this senile hero – called only "the Old Man" in Dorst's play – rejects any implication that he has indirectly heaped guilt upon himself. Living in the ice age of old age, the writer and Nobel prizewinner whose books can be bought for a few coppers in any junkshop recognises only the individual's reality.

Dorst demonstrates symbolically what would happen if everyone were to follow the cult of the individual in this way. The Old Man states that the patriarchal order represents the salvation of Mankind.

He also follows this policy in his family life, forcing his son into slave-like subjection, and is only once shocked out of his sullen callousness – when he meets former resistance fighter Oswald, who has become a semi-maniacal neurotic as a result of war and occupation, reminiscent of the Oswald in Ibsen's *Ghosts*.

Oswald commits suicide by blowing himself up with a hand grenade. The Old Man grieves for him and his individual, liberating deed. He wears mourning but his grief is only external. He soon forgets the name of the dead man.

The well-known inability to grieve and really come to terms with the past and with any moral guilt incurred is typical for the Old Man. While the friends of his youth gradually die out, he continues to live, though he too is free from any direct persecution.

This is no play with a plot. It is a play of words, an end game where conversation revolves in a manner characteristic of the senile. Peter Zadek allows it to move slowly forward. At the beginning the old folks pause repeatedly in their conversation or slurp their beverages, immediately establishing the mood of a way of life that will no longer experience any development or any real liberation.

The Old Man sits on a bench before an old knarled oak which serves as a natural symbol for the human condition. O.E. Hasse plays the role in Bochum. He shows how the forgotten writer displays a mood of tight-lipped resignation and precise memories alternate with periods of slow senile decay.

One of the highlights of the Bochum production is the meeting of the two old men when the writer is visited by one of the friends from his youth, Kristian, himself 87 years old.

Anecdotes are retold, pipes lit, smoke rings blown and life assumes a set pattern. It is here that Dorst reveals with convincing mastery what he intended as the message of the play – that old age does not make a person wiser as used to be thought in ancient communities. Senility inhibits until the soul turns to ice.

Zadek had grouped Bochum Theatre's most talented actors around Hasse and the success of the premiere was therefore certain from he very outset. It was a convincing success for a play with few dramatic opportunities.

Wolfgang Stauch von Quitzow
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 25 March 1973)

O. E. Hasse as the Old Man (right) and Hans Mahnke as his friend Kristian in Dorst's *Eiszeit* (Photo: Schauspielhaus Bochum)

■ THE SCIENCES

Nobel Prizewinner Butenandt – a vignette

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Adolf Butenandt, Honorary President of the Max Planck Society, celebrated his seventieth birthday on 24 March 1973. He was born in 1903, the son of a Bremerhaven tradesman.

Butenandt soon turned to the sciences. As an eighteen-year-old, he studied chemistry and biology in Marburg and then became a pupil of the famous vitamin researcher Adolf Windau in Göttingen, graduating in 1927 with a dissertation on biochemistry.

Four years later he qualified as a lecturer and was appointed in the department of biological chemistry. By this time Butenandt had already made a name for himself by isolating the important female sex hormone oestron about which little was known.

In 1931 he produced adrosterone a product formed in the decomposition of the male sex hormone testosterone, from 25,000 litres of urine. Three years later he crowned this epoch-making research by isolating and later synthesising progesterone, the hormone that regulates pregnancies.

Butenandt was appointed professor and head of the organic chemistry department at Danzig Technical University in 1933. After 1936 he headed the Biochemical Institute in Dahlem, Berlin, the well-known research centre run by the Kaiser Wilhelm Society.

By this time Butenandt had also isolated and even synthesised testosterone. The news then came from Stockholm that he had been awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry together with Leopold Ruzicka, the Zurich researcher. The year was 1939.

Butenandt first wrote a private letter to the general secretary of the Nobel Foundation, thanking him for the award. But the Gestapo intercepted the letter and reprimanded him and two other German prizewinners – medic Gerhard Domagk and Richard Kuhn, who had been awarded the Prize for Chemistry in 1938.

The three scholars were forced to reject the highest award science has to offer. Butenandt was unable to receive the medal and certificate until he travelled to Stockholm in 1948.

In the meantime Butenandt had moved with his Institute to Tübingen in 1944. Here he took over the University's department of physiological chemistry. His Institute, now re-christened the Max Planck Institute for Biochemisty, explored an important new field at the end of the forties – hormone control in insect metamorphosis, the transformation of a larva into a pupa and then into its final form as a butterfly for example. Butenandt also turned to the biochemical mysteries of viruses and the problems of intra-cellular self-infection through concerogenous substances.

Butenandt was appointed professor at Munich University in 1952 and he once again hit the headlines by discovering, analysing and finally synthesising the substances of sexual enticement in the insect world.

Laymen will be unable to imagine the amount of work which went into this research project. Half a million female butterflies had to be killed for the purposes of chemical preparation. To obtain 25 milligrammes of transformation hormone, his staff had to use ten hundred-weight of male pupae.

In the sixties he turned to further important biochemical problems such as protein synthesis and the inheritance of characteristics via a molecular-genetic code.

Ernst H. Haux

(Der Tagesspiegel, 24 March 1973)



Adolf Butenandt

(Photo: dpa)

Helios solar probe

Continued from page 9

information per second over this spectacular distance.

One of its most important ground stations will be the new radiotelescope in Effelsber, near Bonn, which boasts a reflector bowl 100 metres in diameter.

At Effelsberg and other ground stations in this country additional installations will be inaugurated that will finally enable this country to gain access to America's deep-space network.

The current prototype will be followed by the two flight versions, A and B, which will be put into orbit by an American Titan Centaur rocket.

The probe is four metres high and has a diameter of 2.80 metres, or thirty metres with its "feelers" fully extended.

The first capsule is to be launched from Cape Kennedy in July 1974, the second in October 1975. The entire mission will take a year and a half and each circumnavigation of the Sun will take six months.

Once they have completed their scientific work the Helios twins will continue to orbit the Sun as miniature man-made planets.

Peter Raabe

(Handelsblatt, 28 March 1973)

Social workers discuss drink problem

Alcoholism remains the greatest social and medical problem despite drug-taking among the young, social workers agreed at their first international congress in Freiburg.

The congress, attended by 516 delegates from 29 countries, was organised by the Central Bureau against the Dangers of Addiction, Hamm, the Caritas Association of Freiburg and the International Council for the Dangers of Alcohol and Addiction, Lausanne. President Gustav Heinemann was patron.

Werner Holzgrewe, business manager of the Central Bureau in Hamm, stated that some 15 to 25 million people throughout the world were dependent on alcohol, 4.5 to 6 million of them in Western Europe and at least six hundred thousand in the Federal Republic.

Between seven and nine per cent of alcoholics in the Federal Republic, are under 25, a further twelve to fifteen per cent per cent are women. Holzgrewe claimed that there had been an above-average increase in alcoholism among women, adding that the number of undiscovered cases must also be high.

Alcohol has become a legalised drug for many people, he commented. It had now achieved the reputation of a status symbol. He believed that in comparison between twenty and forty thousand young people were dependent on drugs.

Holzgrewe appealed to the central government and the Federal states to supply more money for the establishment of out-patients departments for drug and alcohol dependents.

At present there are some one thousand advice, information and treatment centres in the Federal Republic, three-quarters of them run by private organisations. They employ a total staff of 5,500.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 March 1973)

Fluoride tablets reduce caries incidence in Kiel

The number of cases of dental ... decreased in Kiel over the la... years after free flouride tablets ... distributed to pupils taking par... voluntary scheme at 52 schools, G... Lütgens of the city's welfare depar... states.

He claimed recently that ninety ... cent of parents supported the distribution of flouride tablets. ... fifteen schools in the city have no... joined the anti-caries campaign.

Examinations reveal that the numb... six-year-olds with healthy teeth de... ing no dental treatment had incre... from 52.2 to 72.9 per cent in the ... two years. The proportion ... seven-year-olds increased from 25.... 53.2 per cent and among eight-yea... from 16 to 33.5 per cent.

A total of 14,600 children at ... schools received the free daily f... tablets that taste like sweets.

Lütgens pointed out the exa... Austria where after eight years ... fluoride tablets the number of ... tooth decay among children fell b... per cent.

Lore Lorenz

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 26 March ...)

Morning-after-pill warning

Writing in the *Deutsches Ärzt...* medical journal, the M... Association's Pharmaceutical Comm... has pointed out the health risk... could be involved with the "m... after" pill.

Consumption of the hormone ... gen could lead to unpleasent sides... in both the mother and the embr... pregnancy occurs as a result of too ... a dose. This could lead to malform... in the newly-born child.

The Pharmaceutical Commission ... this opportunity of recommen... doctors to practise great restrai... prescribing the morning-after pill ... more thorough research had ... conducted.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 23 March ...)

Hungry children are accident prone

Children with rumbling stomachs ... dangerously. Analysing more ... eight hundred accidents involving ch... ren, paediatrician Professor Roland G... ke of Freiburg found that they us... occurred at times when the children ... hungry or tired – between eleven o'c... in the morning and five o'clock in ... afternoon.

The report issued by the Ha... Insurance Group does not only take ... accidents into account. Professor Gü... points out that statistics reveal a ... number of accidents in the home.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 March 19...)

Interest in herbal cures increases

Opinion polls have revealed that although the pharmaceutical industry can produce more and improved synthetic medicaments patients want natural substances obtained from plants and herbs.

Doctors too are showing more interest in natural medicaments. A medical congress dealing with natural methods of treatment in the Black Forest town of Freudenstadt dealt extensively with the subject of herbal remedies.

Professor Gerhard Orzechowski, the Cologne pharmacologist, told the congress that 25 per cent of the, 133 plants already subjected to close examination had been found to be effective against microbes. The mustard oil obtained from cruciferous plants had proved to possess a particularly strong antibiotic effect.

Doctors at the congress paid special attention to a talk by Dr Rudolf F. Weiss of Marstetten-Aitrach, Württemberg, on the use of herbal medicaments in cases of chronic insomnia.

Recent estimates suggest that one person in two in the Federal Republic suffers from insomnia, which must thus be recognised as one of the major diseases of modern civilisation.

Vegetable substances extracted from the balm-mint, valerian and hops have been found to encourage sleep. Dr Weiss stated that the sleep-inducing effect of these substances rested on balancing the functions of the vegetative (involuntary) nervous system.

Balm is extremely good for overcoming the effects of stress, calming thy nerves and inducing sleep. "We know of three complaints where balm can be of particular benefit – for nervous hearts, nervous stomachs and insomnia," Dr Weiss stated. "Balm can be used primarily when a person's sleep is affected. Dosage need not be too small."

To counteract insomnia, he recommended patients to take some thirty drops of a substance that has long been on the market in this country and contains balm essense dissolved in alcohol. One advantage of herbal sleeping draughts is that they do not disturb natural sleeping patterns, he commented.

Ludo Zumwald/PAM

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 March 1973)

Garlic is good for you!

Garlic scares off bacteria as well ... vampires and over-sensitive fell... humans, researcher Albert von Ha... claims in the latest edition of the bulle... issued for the members of the Barm... Ersatzkasse insurance company.

Spices are good for the digesti... circulation and metabolism, he stat... People who do not like the penetrati... smell of garlic should turn to red pepper... horse radish or onions, all of which ... encourage performance and keep disease ... away. (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22 March 1973)

■ EDUCATION

Army officers prepare to start university courses

Bremer Nachrichten

This autumn about 300 students in Hamburg will begin further education in the sciences and should finish their courses in record time. By 30 September 1976 after just three years of study most of them will have diplomas to say they have passed their examinations.

They will be qualified engineers in electronics, and machinery manufacture, educationalists or experts in the fields of business management theory and organisation.

But these high-speed Hamburg students differ in one way from the normal student. They are officers in the Bundeswehr who have signed up for a minimum of twelve years and who will continue to receive pay from the State of about 1,100 Marks per month. They will be studying at the first officers college (a second is being built in Munich) and their studies are part of their officer training.

In practice this will mean that at the two Bundeswehr colleges completely new combinations of subjects will be taught. Young officers will, for instance, learn the basics and functions of weapons and other military equipment.

Professor Klaus Langer from Hanover Technical University has explained the uses to which this knowledge can be put at the end of the men's twelve years in the Bundeswehr in a report for the Defence Ministry: "Industry is particularly interested in people who have worked in the Bundeswehr with equipment produced by the firm in question and who will be able to stumulate further devolopments."

Educational theory will be taught to future "officer teachers". Franz Pöggeler a professor at Aachen University, writing in the Bundeswehr officers magazine *Wehrkunde* says that these trained officers are becoming key men in the armed forces. After they have finished military service they can find employment in unions, employers associations, industrial concerns or charitable bodies.

The Bundeswehr has to pay heavily for its recruits' further training. Albert Köhler, a leading government official, stated in Hamburg that the Hamburg and Munich projects would cost about 460 million Marks for the first three years.

Each course of training – either three nine-month periods of study or nine three-month terms – would involve about 1,500 graduates. Each place of study required investment of about 100,000 Marks.

The Bundeswehr colleges are demanding equal status to science colleges. The fact that they are not to be integrated into Hamburg and Munich Universitjes has been the subject of a long-standing battle.

Statements made in Bonn suggest that normal universities do not make sufficient places available to the Bundeswehr with courses suitable for the forces. The universities in a joint statement categorically deny that this is the case.

Historian Immanuel Geiss believes he has discovered the reasoning behind the decision to set up these "monastic" Bundeswehr colleges: "The Bundeswehr fears that if its recruits are sent to normal universities they could become biased by the influence of students there."

Other critics of the scheme admit the need for such further education for the forces, but feel that it would be better if the colleges were subjected to a greater degree to general social control mechanisms.

In this context the Defence Minstry has announced that its colleges will later be incorporated into *Gesamthochschulen*, but there are reasons for doubting whether this will actually take place.

The founding of the Hamburg and Munich colleges has been carried out without the cooperation of the education authorities of Hamburg and Bavaria.

There are governmental agreements in operation between Bonn and Munich and Hamburg, but the Federal state assemblies have not yet been drawn into these plans. They will be called in only when the three governments have got their plans safely completed and way beyond the stage where they can be reversed.

The Defence Ministry cannot avoid the provincial assemblies completely in its endeavours to set up these colleges. The diploma issued by the military establishments is to be the same grade as that of normal universities, so according to Basic Law the provincial assemblies must pave the way by the creation of new laws.

Dieter Stäcker

(Bremer Nachrichten, 21 March 1973)

Experts on drug addiction at schools

Frankfurter Rundschau

In future every school in North Rhine-Westphalia will employ a teacher who is an expert on drug problems. He will be responsible for helping and advising pupils, providing information for his colleagues and supporting his headmaster when coöperating with parents.

A regulation to this effect passed by the government of North Rhine-Westphalia states that the drug problem is so important that it is necessary for every school to have a narcotics expert who knows about the causes, effects and symptoms of drug abuse.

These teachers will attend special courses preparing them for their future duties, they will operate in close cooperation with local drug advice centres and will also help reintegrate young people who were once dependent on drugs.

Universities in the Federal state will also receive drug advice centres of their own if the need is great enough, a government spokesman stated. They could indeed be necessary as the danger of drug abuse is particularly common among freshmen who enter a completely new environment when beginning their course of study.

Hartwig Suhrbier

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 March 1973)

■ OUR WORLD

Bi-lingual children are not the luckiest

DIE ZEIT

Parents returning from a foreign country often feel that their children's experience in a bilingual environment has not been entirely beneficial. The children were socially isolated abroad or found themselves isolated on their return to this country. Their linguistic development has been inhibited, parents claim, and they master neither their mother tongue nor the second language.

A large number of investigators agree. Tests have proved time and again that a person confronted with two languages simultaneously during his formative years never feels at home in either and, to use a metaphor, sits between two stools. Language is therefore felt more as the bearer of culture than an agent and its function as a communicator of information is largely overlooked.

Warnings also come from the United States, the melting pot of languages as well as nations. Elizabeth Hurlock, the authoress of one of the most modern and informative handbooks on developmental psychology ever have been published, writes that linguistic development is probably retarded in both languages.

Confusion results when a child has to learn two different words for the same concept, she writes. But it is an even greater disadvantage when children educated bilingually, in this case mainly the children of immigrants, differ from native children in other respects and this difference represents a serious obstacle to conformity. Submission and inferiority complexes result. Foreign languages should not therefore be taught until the child is in his third year at school.

More recent research projects in Europe confirm that the discrimination resulting from bilingualism largely stems from an unsympathetic evironment. Tests with homogeneous groups of pupils speaking one or two languages (Wilhelm Wieczerkowski: "Bilingualism at an early school age", Helsinki 1963) revealed that, though bilingualism does not inhibit intellectual performance, teachers tend to have a lesser opinion of pupils speaking a foreign language.

Bilingual pupils were at a slight disadvantage when it came to using rhymes or abstract concepts but possessed far more intellectual vitality and spontaneity than the group of pupils that spoke only one language.

But they were also more liable to suffer tension during examinations and observed their performance with greater worry and self-criticism than the pupils who spoke only one language. They seemed to compensate for this by displaying greater ambition.

The Heidelberg "Play English" experiments conducted by Professor Heinrich Kratzmeyer formed part of an attempt to sort through all these claims and warnings and arrive nearer the truth.

Two groups of twelve children from all social backgrounds were taught English several hours a day for two years. No word of German was used. One of the groups was taken by a German interpreter and the other by an American woman teacher who hardly spoke a word of German.

The children were offered toys while the teacher repeated short English sentences and illustrated them by means of gesture — "Look, this is a red ball." Simple commands such as "come here" were also explained by way of mime.

The outcome was that the children were in no way confused but felt themselves far superior to their teacher whom, they believed, could not speak properly.

After three or four weeks they were able to obey simple commands even though they explained to their parents: "I didn't understand a thing but I did everything she wanted . . ." This state of affairs lasted about six months, about as long as a child needs while learning language to progress from comprehension to usage.

After this period the children used their first English phrases during their play, initially only when speaking to the teacher and later with the other children. Their sentences were a mixture of German and English: "This is a nice blue Blume."

But the children spoke no English at home until after twelve months had elapsed. They refused to apply what they had learned once they left their kindergarten.

It seemed as if they were only willing to use their foreign language in the place they learned it. But gradually the children tried to apply their new-found knowledge outside kindergarten, and not only when with their parents.

After two years the children had learned a second language without any recognisable mental difficulties. Their vocabulary averaged five hundred words. A two-year-old children learning its mother tongue has a three-hundred-word vocabulary, though this varies according to social background.

But how much of what they learned stuck in the pupils' minds? "Precious little," Professor Katzmeier commented. "As long as the pupil has no contact with the written language, his knowledge of it fades as quickly as it grew. That is why we arranged follow-up groups to maintain and expand the pupils' knowledge by means of the written language."

The best time for children to learn a foreign language abroad is when it is between two and five. That is the age when language has its most marked effect on a child's development.

Once a child has learned its mother tongue, it will pick up a foreign language but not a second language. When courses in a second language are arranged for small children, they must always be linked with a certain person or situation, as in Heidelberg. This can be achieved by a mother who consistently speaks a foreign language or through a group of foreign-language children.

Renate Röber-Kingma

(Die Zeit, 23 March 1973)



Herrings for forgiveness

Two carts loaded with herrings make their way every year, and the tradition began in 1402, from Hamburg to Verden. The trip commemorates the hanging of two pirates, Klaus Störtebeker and Michels Gödeke who were hanged in that year. They left a fund to provide the herrings for the people of Verden as atonement for their crimes. They considered that they had been guilty of the seven deadly sins pride, envy, sloth, intemperance, avarice, ire and lust.

(Photo: dpa)

NEWS IN BRIEF

All on the phone

The Bundespost estimates that t... year 2000 every home in the c... will have a telephone. At the m... only one house in two has the pho... head of the post office in Munich...

He said that the telephone servic... the pride of the Bundespost, bring... the highest profits. But it did requ... largest investments. He added that ... million Marks would be spent o... phone service in 1973. Every day ... million phone calls are made in ... country.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 March ...)

2 million homes

About two million detached h... and 1,200,000 "two-family" h... have been built in the Federal Re... since 1953, according to the ... Association of Federal Republic ... Owners. They added that more ... three-quarters of the detached h... were built by people mainly for the... use. About four-fifths of the semi-de... ed houses were lived in by the p... who had had them built.

Of the detached houses built ... personal use about 24 per cent are ... in by members of the working class ... per cent belong to the self-employed ... twenty per cent to white-collar wo... and civil servants. The correspo... percentages for "two-family" hous... 33, nineteen and seventeen.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 March ...)

Parrot hospital

Europe's first parrot hospital has ... opened in a little village ... Nuremberg. People with sick parro... Gieselwint can bring the birds to a ... farm house for individual treatment

The clinic is run by a vet and a ... female assistant.

Ernst Mensinger, a bird importer ... is particularly fond of parrots, deci... open the clinic because he is ... experiencing difficulties with ... quarantine regulations.

(Welt am Sonntag, 25 March ...)

Rats, rats

The increase in rubbish has bro... about an increase in the number ... rats. More than 120 million rats "ma... good living" out of rubbish dumps in ... country according to a pollution rese... institute in Frankfurt.

A male a female rat can prod... something like a 100 family in a year.

According to the institute a so-ca... super rat has been discovered, a rat ... immune to the usual methods of ... control.

Since 1959 considerable efforts ... been made, including an ... campaign, to control these rodents ... can carry sickness and cause exten... damage to harvests.

(Neue Hannoversche, 27 February ...)

Fat facts

Almost every other West Germ... admits he or she is too fat, accordi... to the results of a survey publish... recently in Frankfurt by the Fede... Nutrition Association. Forty-five per ce... reckoned their diet was not good ... them. Fifty-three per cent said the... thought their weight was normal. Fif... five per cent considered they had ... balanced diet.

(Die Welt, 13 March 197...)

■ SPORT

Marathon runners viewed through a searching microscope

DIE ZEIT

Sweden's Vasa Run presents a fascinating picture. Year after year some 9,000 amateur skiers set out on more than fifty miles of cross-country grind that may commemorate a historic occasion in Swedish history but nonetheless represent hours of torture for no tangible reward whatsoever.

Yet it is not merely a matter of the Vasa Run. More and more dedicated amateurs seem to want to take part in events of this kind, testing their endurance to the utmost for no apparent reward.

Take, by way of comparison, the Tour de France, in the course of which professional racing cyclists travel 2,500 miles uphill and down dale from one end of France to the other.

At least you know why the competitors are there. It is a matter of both social standing and hard cash. But what induces a Vasa Run skier to work his fingers to the bone for ten hours or more, and that in an affluent society that renders physical achievement increasingly superfluous.

What is his motivation? Protest, or, to use a word that is fashionable at present, nostalgia?

What, for that matter, induces marathon runners who have no chance of winning to plod on mercilessly until their 26 miles and a bit are up? And what about the fifty-kilometre walkers, who have earned the epithet the clowns of the arena?

Long-distance walks albeit can look back on a past history in this country. They were popular before the First World War, in those days being sponsored by armed forces that were not yet motorised.

There were frequent walks from Berlin to Vienna, and often enough the winners were not serving members of the armed forces but vegetarians determined to demonstrate the superiority of their way of life and diet. In reality they did little more than demonstrate their superior will power.

Many sporting endurance tests of this kind have not developed more or less spontaneously from other sporting activities. They are, revealingly enough, the result of the spirit of invention of theoreticians.

The marathon, for instance, was the result of a stroke of imagination on the part of a friend of Pierre de Coubertin's who happened to be an Ancient Greek scholar.

At the first modern Olympics, held in Athens in 1896, the longsuffering runners covered a distance that their legendary forebear might have equalled in 490 BC, though the latter-day marathon runners headed not for the market place but for the brand new marble stadium.

Everyone was delighted when the winner turned out to be a Greek by the name of Spiridon Louis.

As for the Vasa Run and the Tour de France, they both date back to no more than an idea at the back of a sports reporter's mind, journalists generally being better at describing sporting events than performing athletic feats themselves.

A comprehensive study of the psychology of endurance may yet to have been undertaken, but a great deal is known and much work has been conducted on its physiology.

Writing in *Condition*, the international journal, David L. Cortill of the United States has cummarised the physiology of marathon competitors in a way that makes clear even to the layman what an enormous strain on the human organism the race represents and how amazingly adaptable the human body can be.

The sprinter and the marathon-runner are two moulds of men with little or nothing in common. No one man has ever won Olympic medals in both sprint and long-distance running events.

Speed and endurance are both mental and physical opposites. Sprinters are athletic types, extroverted, explosive and swift in their muscular responses. Long-distance runners are slender, introverted and only gradually get under way but have a tremendous capacity for endurance.

Frequently they are quietly fanatical, and as a rule they remain dedicated to their discipline until they reach a ripe old age. Sixty-year-old marathon runners are nothing out of the ordinary.

Anatomically marathon runners are as a rule short and skinny. The height and weight of all the winners of the Boston marathon from 1897 till 1965 having been compared, it was discovered that the average winner was five feet seven tall.

Before going on to the average weight it must, however, be admitted that the winners' height varied considerably — from five feet one to six feet two. Their average weight was 134 lb, though here too the figures varied between 106 and 172 lb.

It stands to reason that marathon runners boast nine per cent less body fat than the man in the street. Every superfluous ounce would be a millstone round their necks, even the muscles that are indispensable for the sprinter.

What, then, are the special physical abilities than enable long-distance runners with their somewhat one-sided will power to perform such feats of endurance?

Marathon runners have a high oxygen intake. Their ability to absorb oxygen into the blood stream is fifty per cent greater than the run of the mill.

The highest ratings ever registered have been those of long-distance skiers, who cross up to thirty miles of country regularly. Sixten Jernberg, for instance, was able to absorb 5.9 litres of oxygen in a minute.

Marathon runners do not quite equal figures of this kind, but mainly because they tend to be smaller and lighter than cross-country skiers, who also rely to a great extent on the elbow grease needed to manipulate their sticks.

At Holmenkollen, Norway, a Finnish ex-hammer thrower win this season's long-distance event. This, to say the least, would be an unlikely prospect in the maraththon.

Marathon runner Derek Clayton, whose personal best of two hours, eight minutes and 33 seconds is the fastest time ever recoded, has been shown capable of maintaining an 86-per-cent oxygen intake for long periods.

Other long-distance runners come well below this level, largely because of a lesser ability to ward off the acids that then make their presence felt, particularly lactic acid.

The energy reserves on which the marathon runner can call are likewise of special interest. Over conventional distances of from 100 to 10,000 metres the glycogen deports in the liver and the muscles are sufficient to supply the required energy.

Athletes who have undergone endurance training are capable of storing 500 grammes of glycogen, twice the amount found in the untrained body. But this is by no means sufficient for the marathon distance, especially as the depots are only half emptied.

Twenty-six miles of marathon use up some 2,650 calories. This means that the energy reserves used must be from another source. So they are.

This additional reserve, which is called on only in exceptional circumstances, is the body fat. By the end of a marathon race the runner derives 94 per cent of the energy he uses from his reserves of body fat.

Lungs and metabolism are not alone in being triend to the utmost in the course of a marathon, either. The strain on the heart and circulatory system is also intense.

The maximum amount of blood pumped into the system by Derek Clayton's heart in the course of a minute is a measured 34.5 litres, as opposed to the 23 litres that are claimed, somewhat optimistically, the present writer feels, for the average person.

In the course of his marathon Clayton was able to maintain 92 per cent of this phenomenal blood turnover.

Heartbeat frequently is another interesting criterion. In trials involving running a distance of 32 kilometres on a moving belt over a period of 101 minutes an increase in heartbeat from 159 to 175 a minute was registered.

In tests involving biotelemetry and wireless electrocardiogramme transmission frequencies of up to 190 heartbeats a minute have been found to persist for up to an hour.

With his muscles operating at full pelt for so long, the marathon runner develops a surplus of body heat that would otherwise be emitted via normal channels. As they pass the finishing tape marathon runners have been found to boast rectal temperatures of more than 39 degrees centigrade on average, and at air temperatures of thirty degrees and over readings of up to 41.3 degrees have been taken.

They body fluid lost in the course of a marathon race also bears witness to the physical strain. In Olympic qualifying races held in the United States in 1968 marathon competitors were found to lose up to thirteen and a half pounds in the course of a race.

Heart and circulatory system, lungs and the metabolism are subjected to extreme strain in the course of a marathon race. The same applies to a greater or lesser degree to all endurance trials. Mention has not even been made of the turnover of vitamins and minerals.

Fanatical will power succeeds in inducing the body to perform barely conceivable feats. Little do the crowds suspect how justified they are in cheering their favourites on. *Adolf Metzner*

(Die Zeit, 30 March 1973)

FA sets up 2nd division



The second division of the Federal football league will consist of eighteen clubs from the Berlin, Northern and Western regional leagues, representatives of the three regions have agreed in Duisburg.

It was also agreed that two of the eighteen were to come from Berlin, though it remains to be seen how many will come from the West and the North respectively. The West claims eleven, the North would like to nominate six clubs.

At all events the second division champion will gain automatic promotion to the current Federal league, while two clubs will be relegated.

Their placed will be taken by the winners of a play-off between six amateur clubs, three from the West, two from the North and one from Berlin.

The agreements reached in Duisburg will be submitted to an extraordinary general meeting of the Football Association for approval.

(Die Welt, 1 March 1973)

Skiers call for revised amateur code

The amateur code of the International Olympic Committee ought to be adapted as soon as possible to come into line with the realities of top-flight competitive sport, the confederation of winter sports associations in the Federal Republic of Germany demands.

Peter Tidemann, general secretary of the Federal Republic Skiing Association, has announced the confederation's intention of submitting this demand to the National Olympic Committee.

Bringing the amateur code up to date must also ensure that fair play and honesty remain prime considerations.

A serious clash seems in the offing between the skiing association and television authorities. In future the skiing association is not prepared to comply with the TV requirement that there be no advertising on skiers' numbers.

This is a problem that does not arise in Austria, Switzerland or Italy.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 March 1973)

World Cup likely to cost 80 million Marks

Hard on the heels of the Munich Olympics the 1974 World Cup will cost the Federal government and taxpayers in this country a fair packet. Spokesmen for the local authorities on whose grounds World Cup fixtures are to be held have requested Bonn to increase its financial stake in the enterprise from fifty to eighty million Marks.

With the Munich Olympic Stadium already financed and some thirty million Marks worth of improvements to the Berlin Olympic Stadium, which is the property of the Federal government, the remaining seven cities involved are faced by the following bills:

- Dortmund: 34.6 million Marks.
- Hamburg: 20.7 million Marks.
- Düsseldorf: 51.7 million Marks.
- Frankfurt: 29.5 million Marks.
- Hanover: 26 million Marks.
- Stuttgart: 22.2 million Marks.
- Gelsenkirchen: 55.7 million Marks.

In a number of instances the Federal government is already committed to footing a larger share of the bill than the respective state governments.

Both the ruling coalition and the Opposition parties in the Bundestag are thinking in terms of issuing commemorative coins as a means of raising additional funds.

(Handelsblatt, 23 March 1973)